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G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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For the National Era.

MR. RENWICK'S STORY.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

[Concluded.]

"I did not care for this. I had had several hours of reflection, and really felt rather sorry—not that I had beaten Tom, but that I had given way to such a fit of passion. Had any one spoken a kind word to me then, it might have changed my whole life; if they had even allowed me to tell my side of the story. I don't know, I think I should have been a better man even now. But they would not let me open my lips, and the consequence was, that with every word that woman uttered—with every epithet she bestowed upon me, (and her vocabulary was by no means limited)—I felt my heart hardening within me. Had I possessed less Self-esteem, and more Veneration, I should doubtless have sunk beneath the load of evil with which she charged me; for there was not a sin, not a tendency to vice in my whole race, from Adam downwards, of which she did not know me guilty, or, at least, had seen traces of in my little body.

"The upshot of the matter was, that we were to be separated. Tom was to be sent away to school, while I remained at home. The words '*sent away*' operated on me like magic; they opened a hope of escape, and wrung from me, what nothing else could have done, namely, a confession of my guilt, and an earnest request that I might be sent away instead of Tom. I even—(it was a sore temptation, children)—I even carried my mock humiliation farther, and plead that I alone was guilty, I alone deserved—*banishment!*

"What do you think I was told, Fred Martyn? Why, just what they told every one else, that I was so hopelessly and inherently wicked—so utterly and irredeemably vile and worthless—that it would be an imposition to ask any stranger to take me into his family; that no one *could* be expected to bear with me but those connected by ties of blood; that it was a sore trial, but as it had pleased Providence to send me to them, doubtless as a cross, they would try to bear it with Christian patience; and so on, to the end of the chapter.

"I listened to all this with undisguised indignation and contempt. I knew that it was because my property was in their hands, and they were unwilling to see a cent of it go into another person's, that they refused to let me go. I knew that Tom had often beat me within an inch of my life, without having the vials of eternal wrath poured out upon his head, and I began to regret that I did not pay him off more liberally. So the hardening process went on, and all that saved me from becoming a very brute was the influence of that girl of whom I spoke, Rachel Halliday. She was the daughter of Widow Halliday, our neighbor, a poor, proud, ambitious woman, but Rachel was"——

"An angel!" exclaimed Ed, suddenly and almost unconsciously supplying the word for which the old man seemed groping.

"No; not an angel, boy. I don't think the angels ever troubled themselves much about me, either that time or since, and *she* did. She was a true-hearted, gentle, loving girl—better than a dozen angels to me; for she alone seemed to know me as I was, or, rather, as I might have been, and tried me make me better. We were schoolmates, and in the winter, when the snow was deep, I used to go on before to make her a path, or draw her on my sled, wondering all the time why Tom didn't try to take her from me, as he did everything else that I loved. But she was too little and insignificant for him to care about then. People talk about childish feelings and childish friendships," went on the old man, after a pause, "and the ease with which they are erased or forgotten; but it is not so, Fred Martyn. Boy as I was, the feeling that I cherished for that girl was the ruling influence of my life; for her I struggled to subdue my quick, fiery temper—for her I strove for the prize of scholarship in the village school—for her I bore all things and hoped all things; and she, even while she gently blamed me for giving way to my passion, reconciled me to the thought of staying there after that affair with Tom.

"We were but children then; but as the years went on, there came, even to me, a magical change over her. From a little, pale, somewhat feeble girl, she bloomed into a lovely woman—tall, fair, graceful as a lily, and I—well, I may as well out with it—I worshipped her as only strong, impetuous natures, that have been defrauded of their share of human love in the world, *can* worship. You, children, with so many outlets to your hearts, can never know what she was to me.

"But to go on. My guardian, as I said, kept a country store, and, as my talent for business had been discovered from my waiting on customers night and morning and on holydays, at sixteen I was taken from school, and installed as clerk in the store. Tom had entered college a year or two before, for he was to shine in a profession; so I saw little of him save at vacations, and though the feeling between us was not quite after the David and Jonathan order, we got on right peaceably. The drubbing I had given him so many years before, followed up by those he got at school, had improved his manners in some respects, considerably.

"Thus, the weeks sped on, and I was twenty. But one year more, and I should be free. How Rachel and I counted the days! (for you must know, children, that by this time all things between us were settled.) What fools we were, dreaming all sorts of pleasant dreams that were to end smoke! Well, we were happy then, and it is no small thing for any man, in looking back over a track of sixty years, to be able to lay his finger on any one point, and say—'Then I was happy!'

"Tom spent that summer vacation at home, but I saw less of him than usual, for he was much abroad among the village girls, with whom his college airs took wonderfully. On Rachel they were wholly lost, for she avoided him as much as possible. It so happened, that just at this time it was necessary that some one should go out to Western New York, which was '*the* West' of my boyhood, to look after certain wild lands, upon which Mr. Alling had contrived to get some claim. That gentleman urged Tom to go, but the latter declined, and, to my great surprise, launched into a panegyric on my rare business tact, and proposed that I should be sent. Mr. Alling caught at the suggestion at once; he well knew that I *did* possess qualifications for the business, which Tom lacked; besides, if ague and fever, or any other evil incident to that unsettled region, happened to me, it would not be of much consequence any way. I was delighted with the prospect of getting away, though very careful not to show it; and let me add, that I should have run away a dozen times during the past years, had it not been for the thought of Rachel, and gratifying Mr. Alling by leaving my property in his hands. So the Western journey was arranged, and I went away, thinking that, after all, Tom might turn out quite a decent fellow.

"I was a fool—a natural-born fool!" muttered the old man, after a moment's silence. "I should have known that the devil was at the bottom of that show of friendship! But I went; for many weeks I was a free man, roaming through the untrodden wilderness, and thinking—well, thinking of Rachel, and making each opening in the grand old woods a setting for her sweet face. At last my business was completed, and in a way which I knew would be acceptable to my guardian, for it was in his favor, and in high spirits I started for home. It was a long journey in those days, and the last stages I made partly on foot. I reached the village in the dark of twilight, and wishing to see Rachel first of all, and give her a surprise, I crossed the fields, and, reaching her mother's house unobserved, stole softly beneath the window, where I knew she would be sitting at that hour."

Something seemed gathering in the old man's throat, and he reached forward for a glass of water which I placed in his hand.

"I was not mistaken," he said, at length. "She was there, as I expected—but at her side, whispering his black lies in her ear, while his false lips almost touched her cheek, was Satan, in the shape of Tom Alling; and she—Rachel Halliday—she who had stood to me for all purity and truth, looking up in his face with that expression of love and trust, which I, like a fool, had thought her face could wear to none but me!

"The sight maddened me. I sprang into the room and"——

He paused, and the great veins in his temples grew livid and rigid in the effort he made to control the emotion which these memories awakened.

"You did not," cried Rebecca, frightened at the stern immovability of his features, "surely you did not"——

"Kill them on the spot!" he interrupted, hoarsely. "No; have I not said that I am respectable? I was not so merciful as that. When she flung herself between me and that rascal, I turned from him, and blasted her with my curses. I don't know what I did or said; I was mad. All that I remember of that scene is the look of grief, surprise, terror, and pity, which she gave me, as I flung her from my arm, to which she attempted to cling, and Tom Alling's exulting tone, as cowering beyond the reach of my arm, with his hand on the handle of the door, he exclaimed—'You see, my dear, that the stories are all true, even worse than was reported!'

"One thing more I remember: the cold, sneering, rascally, hypocritical face of my guardian, when, half an hour later, supported by his wife—for he had not the courage to meet me, with such a lie in his mouth, alone—he told me that I was a beggar; that all property left by my father had been insufficient to pay my expenses, and upbraided me with my dissolute, licentious habits—I, who was as innocent as a child! He even taunted me with having eaten the bread of charity. I did not stay to hear the details of this villany, for villany I knew it to be, but put the climax to the character it had been their aim for years to give me, by seizing a splendidly-bound copy of the Bible, which was always ostentatiously displayed upon the table, and flinging it at his head. That night I left C——. My youth was but the type, it seems, of my future; for in manhood and old age I have been but a houseless, homeless wanderer. You need not look so grieved," he added, as he met Rebecca's half-tearful, half-reproachful glance, "I am by no means ungrateful. It is a good and pleasant home you have given me, one in which the crusty old man grows young again; else, you may depend upon it, you would never have heard what he has told you to-night; but it is not the home I dreamed about in my youth."

"Did you never go back? Did you never see her again?" I asked, timidly breaking the silence that followed the old man's words.

"Once more, child. When I saw her again, she lay in her coffin, with her white shroud folded about her, and the traces of an age of misery on her thin, sunken face!"

Was that Mr. Renwick? Our granite-faced, iron-nerved Mr. Renwick, that sat there gazing into the glowing anthracite with such an expression of unutterable sorrow in his whole face and attitude!

Well might we doubt, until Rebecca startled us all by her earnest exclamation—

"She *was* innocent! She *must* have been innocent!" she cried. "There was some mistake! You left her, and she died of a broken heart! Was it not so?"

"Worse, child; she *lived* with a broken heart. You are right; she *was* innocent of all sin against me, but the victim of Tom Alling's villanous schemes. It seems he had noted the change in her personal appearance, and marked her for his prey some months before. His first care had been to get rid of me; and then he set to work. By means of certain tools, who are found in every place, ready to do the devil's work, he circulated all manner of lies about me, and the reason of my absence; while he, double-and-twisted villain that he was, assumed the part of an aggrieved friend, and made a feint at defending, or at least excusing me, in the presence of Rachel, which, knowing the cool relations that had ever subsisted between us, she in her guilelessness took to be an evidence of real nobleness of mind and heart. Had I only heard her that night, had I been anything but a madman, I should have learned that it was gratitude for what she deemed his disinterested friendship for me, that led to that interview. It was long before I heard from her again; and then, the fact that she was the wife of Tom Alling only confirmed me in my opinions. Years afterward, when it was all too late, I learned my mistake. Business called me to my native State; and while there, I visited C——, more to spite myself for the cowardly feeling that made me wince at the thought of it, than for anything else. No one recognised me; and I might have left the village without any one being the wiser for my presence, if I had not yielded to my desire to visit my father's old housekeeper, whom I found was living still. I could not deceive her. Partly my questions, and partly my voice, betrayed me; and from her I learned that which took from me the sense of injury, and loaded me with that of guilt.

"Rachel Halliday lay dead in her house, and it was over her coffin that I heard how my own conduct on that night had been brought against me as proof of the truth of those calumnies; how she had struggled against the united influence of her mother and her friends, until, weary and despairing, she had consented to become Tom Alling's wife; how the ill-gotten gains of my old guardian had been scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the wife of his son and heir had been indebted to my old friend for a shelter during the last days of her life, while Tom was a common drunkard about the streets. *She* had died the night before my arrival; and when I stood by that open coffin, and heard of all that wretch's brutality toward her; how in drunken fits he had boasted of his outwitting me, and taunted her with being his dupe—when I looked upon that poor, pale, sunken face, and thought of all she was and all she might have been, do you wonder that I felt myself a murderer?"

"There is One who seeth not as man seeth," said Fred, at length, breaking the deep silence.

"Yes, and great as was my share of the guilt, I trust that He has forgiven me!" said the old man, solemnly.

We were all silent for some moments, until Mr. Renwick, catching the glance of Rebecca fixed upon him with a puzzled sort of an expression, said, with an approach towards his usual bluff, humorous tone—

"Well, what is it, child?"

"I was trying to identify you with the boy of whom you have been speaking. It seems so odd; for, somehow, I never have thought of you as"——

"Anything but an old simpleton," he interrupted, with a smile. "I suppose not, any more than, two hours ago, I thought of turning myself wrong side outwards to gratify such a monkey."

"But, Mr. Renwick"——

"But Mr. Renwick!" cried the old gentleman, in a tone of mimicry, suddenly cutting short Ed's query, whatever it might have been. "Heaven help the boy! Does he suppose that I have nothing else to do but sit here, like an old granny, answering questions all night! Go to bed, children, and forget every word that I have said to-night, all but this;" and he laid his hand upon Ed's brown locks, and said, in a voice that was all the more touching from its sudden contrast to his tone a moment previous, "Never—*never*, as you hope for happiness in this world, part in anger from one you love!"

For the National Era.

ODE TO REPUBLICAN ROME.

BY AUGUSTINE DUGANNE.

O Rome! I sing to thee!
I cry aloud to thee! be free! be free!
Behold! my heart rose up
Like a roused ocean, when upon mine ear
Broke thy high summoning trumpet, loud and clear,
Calling dead Freedom from her shameful bier.
O Rome! the deadly cup
Of all thy woes, which tyrants filled for thee,
And Holy Fathers bless'd in Papal Palace—
Calling the death-bowl heaven's anointed chalice—
This cup thou didst dash boldly from thy lips;
Dash'd it to earth! Thus may God crush the malice
Which would with shameful lies thy valiant deed eclipse.

ROME THE REPUBLIC! From thy Seven Hills
Flash'd the red beacon fires of Liberty.
Lo! how the blaze, wide-spreading, flaming, fills
The o'erarching Past with glory! Thou wert free!
Rome of RIENZI! Rome of DECIUS! ROME!
The name—the Name of ROME! shall hallow thee
As Freedom's Home!

O, my heart never could believe that men
Born in the Colisseum's shadow—nurs'd
Amid the tombs of earth's tremendous giants—
Could even sleep so long! Thank God! again
Ye awoke, and stood erect, and burst
Your shackles, and hurled back in proud defiance
The gauntlet of your faith at slavery's brow!
It were a lifetime worth to be a ROMAN now!

Fear ye yon crownless tyrant, who hath flung
The cap of Liberty from Gallia's brow,
And the fool's bells around her temples hung!
What though your walls beneath his cannon bow,
And his armed robbers march your shrines among—
Rome is still FREE! Her buried soul revives!
Her children that were dead have now upsprung,
And Freedom's EUCHARIST gives them countless lives.

Poor Imbecile of France! Lo! he would guide
The Phœbus-chariot of a nation's will,
And rein the steeds of Freedom! In his pride,
He would o'erleap his nature, and deride
The elements that raised him, and that still
Are surging round him in an angry tide!
He *cresting* them, as floats some glittering toy
Upon the bosom of an ocean wide!
Laugh, O my soul! this proud, assumptious boy
Would with our goddess Freedom dalliance hold,
Tempting her love with his betraying gold!
Laugh, O my soul! laugh loud in new-born joy—
"The gods first madden whom they would destroy!"

I sang in joy when France,
With the brown hand of Labor, cast her chains
And sceptres in the path of barricades:
I sang, as I beheld her sons advance,
Grasping their unstained blades
Which bore the lightning of their hearts and brains!
I sang aloud the anthem of the free,
And on my bending knee
Prayed for the glorious cause of Liberty!

But France hath stooped to shame,
Selling her birthright for a tyrant's name;
And Rome must now do battle for the world—
Rome, the great Heart of Nations, by whose throes
The tide of Freedom's life-blood must be hurled
Through Europe's arteried corpse, until it glows
With life to feel and to avenge its woes!

Once, with the wondering patriots of all earth—
Hailing your Freedom's birth—
Ye bless'd the Pope of Rome!
Ye bless'd him that with vision free and earnest
He had looked forward to the coming light:
Ye hailed him as the holiest and sternest
Of all man's champions battling for the Right—
Battling against old Europe's kingly might.

But soon ye tore from off his brow its screening,
And saw the *monarch* in your worship'd Pope!
His *human* words ye found with *royal* meaning—
Truth to the *ear*, but falsehood to the *hope!*
Then, with the strength which had been crush'd so long,
Ye rose, and smote your wrong!

Men of old Rome! still be your souls undaunted!
Still to the world fling out your proud example!
Lo! the eternal seed which ye have planted,
Banyan-like shall arise, and top the skies,
And in its awful pride, shall arch with branches wide,
The desert earth which kings now madly trample.

MAZZINI! lofty champion of the free!
Thy name will yet flash sunlight o'er our hearts!
Thou, AVEZZANA! Rome shall hallow thee
When Cæsar's memory from the world departs!
Brave GARRIBALDI! never shall *thy* knee
Bend to the charming of a tyrant's arts!
Glorious Apostles! Freedom's chosen Three!
O ROME! I hail thy Triune Liberty!

AN INTERESTING INCIDENT.

On the 16th November, Mr. Henry M. Wilson, a colored licentiate, was ordained by the Presbytery of New York. The clergymen who took part in the services were, Drs. Krebs and Phillips, Rev. Wm. Bannard, Rev. Edward E. Rankin, and Rev. J. W. C. Pennington, a colored minister. The *Presbyterian* relates the following interesting incident in connection with the ordination:

An incident occurred at the close of the exercises, which was very interesting to the few immediate spectators of it. Two of the ministers who took prominent parts in this ordination were introduced to each other as strangers, but were soon observed to be engaged in a conversation which indicated considerable interest in each other, and great mutual respect and cordiality. It turned out that there was a little history connected with the meeting, which exhibits some striking features of the dispensation of Divine Providence. A little over forty years ago, in one of the western counties of Maryland, were born, within five miles of each other, two boys in widely-different conditions. One of them was white, the son of a reputable citizen of the county, and of course free born; the other was black, and by birth a slave. Some of the fellow-slaves of the latter were hired as domestic servants in the family of the former, and the two boys were known to each other in consequence of the neighborhood and the intercourse subsisting between the families to which they respectively belonged; and there was some degree of that familiarity which subsists between the white children and the domestic servants of the households in slave States. When both were well grown, the former one of those lads was sent from home to college, and ultimately became a minister of the Gospel, and for more than twenty-five years he had not seen, and probably had not thought of, the other lad. After this lapse of time they met, but in what different relations! The colored slave had now become a freeman—the freeman, too, of Jesus Christ, and a valuable preacher of the Gospel, with the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him by a German University! His name had been changed from that he bore in his youth, and hence had not been recognised before. But both these ministers were extensively known in the Church, and now met as pastors of large Presbyterian churches in the city of New York, and were here associated as co-presbyters in ordaining a minister of the Gospel.

NAVIGATION OF THE INDUS.—The various modes of native navigation are very curious, and to strangers would seem particularly dangerous, from the vast swarms of alligators; but I did not learn that accidents often happened from their extraordinary aquatic tactics. One plan is to take the skin of a sheep or goat, as whole as possible, and making it into a bag, which they ingeniously contrive so to stitch that it is completely air-tight, and which is inflated when required for use. It is then laid on their breast, and the two fore-legs are brought round and fastened together behind the neck; in like manner, the two hind ones are passed round the waist, and tied behind the back; the basket or parcel which they carry is fastened either to their shoulders, or fixed on their turban, and they then lay themselves down upon the water, and propel themselves by their arms and legs at a very rapid rate. This mode of travelling is common to the couriers, the fishermen, and even to those who may occasionally require to cross the river. There is another plan equally strange and more surprising to the European traveller, which is by means of a large earthenware vessel, of a globular form, with an opening at the top; the traveller places this primitive argosy with the opening against his chest, and the air contained within it is sufficient to bear up him and his fishing net, and he boldly swims or sails—I know not which to call it—up and down the river, propelling himself by his legs, and casting his net most dexterously. I have seen few things anywhere which more excited my wonder than these two extraordinary floats or buoys—for they are nothing more—and the ease and rapidity with which the navigators darted from point to point was truly wonderful, particularly to the stranger.—*Scenes in a Soldier's Life.*

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

The Chair laid before the Senate the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the marine hospital fund.

The Senate took up the report of the Committee on printing 2,000 additional copies of the naval court of inquiry in the case of Capt. Latimer; and, after debate, the report was rejected.

Mr. Pearce offered a resolution directing an inquiry into the propriety of repairing, enlarging, and refitting the Library room. Adopted.

Mr. Hale offered a resolution, which was laid over, directing an inquiry by the Naval Committee into the propriety of providing by law that all appointments in the navy hereafter shall be for a limited time.

Mr. Hunter offered a resolution, which was agreed to, calling for a statement of the public warehouses under lease, the terms of the leases, and the periods which they have to run, &c.

Mr. Bradbury moved to take up the French spoliation bill, for the purpose of making it a special order; and the motion was, after debate, agreed to. The bill was made the special order for the third Monday of February.

The Senate then resumed the consideration of the bill granting land to the State of Iowa, in aid of the construction of certain railroads in that State.

Mr. Sumner advocated the passage of the bill, and then it was postponed to Thursday, and the Senate adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28.

Mr. Cass presented the resolutions and proceedings of a public meeting recently held in Detroit, Michigan, in favor of the measure before Congress authorizing friendly overtures to be made by the United States in behalf of Smith O'Brien and his associates in exile in Van Dieman's land. He expressed himself in favor of the passage of that measure, and earnestly pleaded its adoption. He considered it a merciful suggestion, and not impertinent interference. He thought the request, if made, would be responded to in a corresponding spirit, by the British Government.

Mr. Hale was warmly in favor of the measure. His mother was the daughter of an Irish exile, named O'Brien, and on all occasions he would be found willing and ready to extend his sympathy for Irish exiles.

Mr. Butler favored any proposition to effect the release of the parties, but he deprecated the use of all harsh language towards the British Government. Such language would, instead of expediting the pardon, rather retard it, if not defeat it.

Mr. Shields agreed with Mr. Butler, and hoped the subject would be brought up at an early day. The papers presented were then laid on the table.

After the presentation of petitions and reports, the resolution declaring the Compromise a definite settlement of the slave question was then taken up, and Mr. Davis addressed the Senate in opposition to it.

Mr. McRae got the floor, and the subject was postponed till to-morrow.

After an Executive session, the Senate adjourned.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29.

The Chair laid before the Senate a report from the Secretary of the Interior, communicating a statement of the Census tables now in course of preparation: ordered to be printed.

Mr. Cooper presented petitions against the transportation of mails on Sunday.

Mr. Clarke presented the joint resolutions of the Legislature of Rhode Island, against flogging and the spirit ration in the navy of the United States.

Mr. Fish presented the petitions of journeymen cigar-makers, in favor of a modification of duties on imported cigars.

Mr. Hamlin reported a bill appropriating $5,000 for the completion of the light-house on Sand Key, Florida; and, after explanation, the bill was ordered to a third reading.

Mr. Bradbury introduced a bill to alter and amend the judicial system of the United States.

The motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill granting a pension to Sally I. Lloyd was passed, was taken up, and, after debate, was rejected.

The resolution of sympathy, &c., for the Irish exiled patriots was taken up, and Mr. Shields gave notice of an amendment thereto, and it was postponed till Thursday next.

The Mexican Indemnity bill was referred to the Committee on Finance.

The resolution declaring the Compromise acts to be a settlement of the Slavery question, was taken up, and Mr. McRae addressed the Senate in opposition to the resolution.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

The House resumed the consideration of the resolution reported yesterday, from the Committe on Printing, directing that committee to make a contract with Donelson & Armstrong for the printing of the census.

In the debate yesterday, Mr. Evans, of Maryland, strongly condemned the proposition to make the contract with Donelson & Armstrong, looking upon it as an attempt to revive the "political sop" system, which had been repudiated. Mr. Venable, too, took the same course, and declared that he would vote for no man as the nominee of the Democratic Convention, who did not give his views clearly on the great questions, and in favor of the republican faith of State Rights, as expounded by Jefferson, the Compromise Question, and the suppression of the Abolition excitement.

This morning, Mr. Nabors took the floor for the purpose of replying to Mr. Venable, and to defend the editors of the Washington *Union*, and to speak of other matters. He was frequently called to order; and finally, to avoid further interruption, yielded for a motion that the resolution be referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, which prevailed—yeas 148, nays 45.

Mr. Polk introduced a resolution to terminate the debate on the above-mentioned resolution in one hour after the subject shall have been taken up in Committee.

Questions were raised that the resolution was not in order; the Chair decided that it was, but the decision was overruled.

Mr. Skelton moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and urged that immediate action be taken to remedy the inconveniences and obstructions to the business of the House, occasioned by the failure of the public printer to perform the duties required by the contract.

Mr. Gorman advocated the passage of the resolution giving to Donelson & Armstrong the Census printing. He was free to admit that he was willing that this should be done from party considerations.

The motion made by Mr. Skelton to reconsider was lost.

And the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28.

The House this morning went into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of the bill making an appropriation of $3,180,000, for the payment of the last Mexican instalment. The several amendments pending were rejected; when the Committee rose, and the bill was passed under the operation of the previous question.

The House again went into Committee, (Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, in the chair,) and on motion of Mr. Bayly, the bill for the relief of the Lopez expedition prisoners, recently released and pardoned by the Queen of Spain, was taken up.

Mr. Bayly, having ascertained from the State Department that six thousand dollars would probably be enough to bring those persons home, and contribute to their comfort, moved, and the Committee inserted that amount in the bill. He said that he would not trouble the Committee with any remarks, as the bill sufficiently explained itself, and he appealed to the Committee to rise and report the bill to the House.

Mr. Giddings took the opportunity to speak on the subject of our foreign affairs, and particularly in favor of the doctrine of Intervention or Non-intervention, as proclaimed by Kossuth.

Mr. Cartter offered an amendment to the bill—"provided that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to approbate any interference in the domestic affairs of Cuba, by any of the citizens of the United States."

This was debated by several gentlemen, when it was agreed to—yeas 79, nays, 58.

Other amendments were offered and voted down.

The running debate involved the questions of outlaws, pirates, and what is required by humanity in the necessitous condition of the pardoned invaders.

The bill having been reported to the House, the question was stated on concurring in the amendment of Mr. Cartter. Adopted in Committee; whereupon,

The yeas and nays were demanded; pending which, the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29.

The unfinished business was on concurring in the following amendment, agreed to in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union yesterday, to the bill for the relief of the Cuban prisoners pardoned by the Queen, and now in Spain, viz:

"*Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed into an approbation of any interference in the domestic affairs of Cuba by any of the citizens of the United States."

The question being taken, the amendment was concurred in—yeas 91, nays 71.

The bill was then passed—yeas 147, nays 22.

Committees were called for reports, and a large number were made from the standing committees; among them, one by Mr. Olds, from the Committee on the Post Office, to amend the postage law of March 1, 1851; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

TERRIBLE STEAMBOAT DISASTERS.

GRAND GULF, *January* 14, 1852.

Loss of the George Washington.—About one o'clock this morning, the steamboat George Washington, on her way from Cincinnati to New Orleans, when a short distance above this place, exploded, after which she took fire, and was entirely consumed. Captain Irvine was badly scalded, and the first clerk, Wm. Carroll, was killed.

Many that were killed by the explosion were afterwards burned. Among those killed and missing were Wm. Carroll, 1st clerk; a Mr. J. Treat, Philip Supner, 1st cook, five firemen, six deck hands, and six deck passengers, names not known—all supposed to have been burnt with the boat. Also, Mr. Chip, the carpenter, and a Mr. Kuyksndall, a passenger from Kentucky, so badly scalded as to cause immediate death after reaching the shore.

Those saved and scalded are Captain Irvine, badly scalded; Mr. Pearce, second clerk, do.; Daniel Clemons, engineer, do.; Martin Dunn, second mate; Wiley, third engineer; Moore, watchman; James Moore, first mate, uninjured; C. D. Clemons, passenger, do.; Castin Wheeler, second cook, not much injured.

The books and papers of the boat are all lost. The Washington had two barges in tow, loaded with stock and freight, both of which burned.

The steamer J. S. Chenoweth came down about four hours after the explosion, and took on board the surviving officers and crew, and provided for them. Captain Irvine is in a fair way for recovery. The George Washington and freight was fully insured.

MEMPHIS, *January* 15, 1852.

Burning of the Martha Washington.—The steamer Martha Washington, Captain Cummins, bound to New Orleans, was burned up at Island 65, yesterday morning about half past one. A man, wife, and two children, in the ladies' cabin, and one man in the main cabin and one on deck, were burned. The boat is a total loss. The officers and crew were saved. Some of them came up on the James Millingar, and some went down on the Hammond. In three minutes from the time the boat caught fire, it was all in flames, and the cabin fell in. The books and papers were lost.

LOSS OF U. S. MAIL STEAMER MAGNOLIA.—*Savannah, January* 11.—The steamer Magnolia, from Florida, bound to this port, burst her boiler on Friday last, at St. Simon's Island, near Darien. The force of the explosion was terrific, tearing the boat completely to pieces. Capt. McNeely, the clerk, and 13 others were killed, and several others wounded. The boat is a complete wreck. Forty-five persons, including all the cabin passengers, were saved.

ANOTHER STEAMER BURNED.—It will be seen by our telegraphic despatches that the steamer *Tippah*, with her cargo, was destroyed by fire below Vicksburg, on Tuesday last. This makes the third boat that has been burnt up in the Mississippi during the present week.

LOSS OF THE DUNKIRK.—*St. Louis, January* 8.—The steamer Dunkirk, hence for New Orleans, sunk forty miles below this city, near Turkey Island. She struck a log and broke in two. Her cargo will be saved in a damaged condition; also, her furniture and machinery. No lives lost. The passengers all returned on the Hannibal.

STEAMBOAT ACCIDENT AND LOSS OF LIFE.—*Memphis, January* 26, 1851.—The steamer De Witt Clinton, from New Orleans for Pittsburg, struck a snag eight miles below this city, yesterday about 4 o'clock P. M., and sunk in two minutes, in two and a half fathoms water. Twenty-five or thirty lives were lost, including all the crew, except one fireman and the officers.

MINERALOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN ARKANSAS.—Rev. Mr. Fletcher, an accomplished geologist, made the following announcement before a recent Internal Improvement Convention at Little Rock:

"You have iron ore in immense bodies, and of the finest quality—you have inexhaustible beds of bituminous and anthracite coal. Yes, sir, as incredible as it may appear, you have in this State anthracite coal, not inferior to any in the State of Pennsylvania. But in this great mineral belt already alluded to, you have innumerable veins of what is termed argentiferous lead ore, but when tested it proves to be more than argentiferous; it is also auriferous—yes, and more than that, for when it was assayed, the mineral yielded not only 95 per cent. metal, but it contained lead, zinc, copper, silver, and gold; and the gold, at the rate it yielded in that analysis, will amount to at least $1,300 per ton of the ore. We discovered also (what I believe has never been discovered before on any part of this continent) lapis lazuli, the value of which per ounce is double that of gold."

AN AFRICAN ROSCIUS.

There is, at this time, on the English stage, one Ira Aldridge, who is called the African Roscius. His grandfather was an African prince of the Polish tribe. In a war which occurred with a rival tribe, he was vanquished. His only son came to the United States, at the age of nine years, with an American missionary. Here he was educated as a minister of the gospel, preached for some years, and then returned to Africa, determining to propagate the Christian religion among the negroes. He took with him his wife, a young American colored woman. A war ensued in Africa, and the preacher's adherents were defeated. He was forced to live in concealment some time during which Ira Aldridge was born. At last the fugitive again found means to return to the United States. The father died at New York in 1840, being, at his death, the officiating minister to one of the African religious congregations. Ira, the son, having once visited the gallery of a theatre in New York, became stage-struck. He joined a company of colored amateurs, and performed the part of Rolla, in "Pizarro," with great success. He was afterwards sent to Schenectady College, New York, the intention being to make him a preacher. But the theatre was his passion, and knowing that there was no opportunity for him to distinguish himself in the country, he went to England, and appeared in 1826 at the Royalty Theatre, London, as Othello. Subsequently, he performed in London, at Sadler's Wells, the Cobourg, the Surrey, and at Covent Garden. His principal characters are Zanga, Othello, Rolla, Oronooko, Gambia, Zarambo, Alhambra, Mungo, and other parts suited to his color. The *Dramatic Magazine*, speaking of him, says: "As both a tragic and a comic actor, Mr. Aldridge's talents are undeniable. He possesses every mental and physical requisite for both walks of the profession. In tragedy he has a solemn intensity of style, bursting occasionally into a blaze of fierce invective or passionate declamation. While the dark shades of his face become sombre in their thoughtful aspect, a night-like gloom is spread over his countenance, with an expression more terrible than paler lineaments can readily assume. In farce he is exceedingly amusing, the ebony becomes polished, the coal emits sparks. His face is the faithful index of his mind; and as there is not a darker frown than his, there is not a broader grin. The ecstacy of his long shrill note in 'Possum up a gum tree,' can only be equalled by the agony of his cry of despair over the body of Desdemona."

Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.

AFFECTION OF THE NIGHTINGALE.—By remarkably good fortune, one of the most extraordinary of these songsters has recently taken full possession of my garden. I call the gay, joyous fellow "extraordinary," for I never yet heard such seraphic strains, such perfect freedom of song, from any of the tribe—much as I have had to do with them. And what makes me value the merry little rogue the more, is his almost incredible tameness. He sings the night through, just under my chamber window, and seldom leaves the garden, by day or by night, for more than a few minutes at a time. I usually rise to greet him at five o'clock, A. M.; and on venturing an humble imitation of his swelling note, he flies to me at once. Seating himself on a shady bough, and bending slightly forward, there he remains, holding converse with me, so long as my time permits me to tarry; and he improvises such music the while, that I can hardly tear myself away from him. He knows *my* voice, and I know *his*. Thus do we, morning by morning, exchange familiarities; and greatly do I love to return, after the fatigues of a day of toil, to renew our intimacy. I believe the pleasure is quite mutual. I cannot but imagine that this bird possesses an unusual charm; for he has drawn into one focus a host of blackbirds, thrushes, robins, blackcaps, and other vocalists, whose orchestral accompaniments, blending with his own heavenly voice, almost lead us to suppose we are in fairy-land. They rehearse early in the evening; and the concert, once commenced, lasts until long after sunrise. I need hardly say that I now retire to rest with my chamber window *open*.

Mr. Kidd, in the Gardener's Chronicle.

For the National Era.

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UNCLE TOM'S CABIN:

OR,

LIFE AMONG THE LOWLY.

BY MRS. H. B. STOWE.

CHAPTER XXXI—*Continued.*

It was late in the evening when the weary occupants of the shanties came flocking home—men and women in soiled and tattered garments, surly and uncomfortable, and in no mood to look pleasantly on new-comers. The small village was alive with no inviting sounds; hoarse guttural voices contending at the hand-mills where their morsel of hard corn was yet to be ground into meal, to fit it for the cake that was to constitute their only supper. From the earliest dawn of the day they had been in the fields, pressed to work under the driving lash of the overseers, for it was now in the very heat and hurry of the season, and no means was left untried to press every one up to the top of their capabilities. "True," says the negligent lounger, "Picking cotton isn't hard work." Isn't it? And it isn't much inconvenience, either, to have one drop of water fall on your head, yet the worst torture of the inquisition is produced by drop after drop, drop after drop, falling moment after moment, with monotonous succession, on the same spot; and work in itself not hard becomes so by being pressed hour after hour with unvarying, unrelenting sameness, with not even the consciousness of free will to take from its tediousness. Tom looked in vain among the gang, as they poured along, for companionable faces. He saw only sullen, scowling, imbruted men, and feeble, discouraged women, or women that were not women—the strong pushing away the weak—the gross, unrestricted animal selfishness of human beings, of whom nothing good was expected and desired, and who, treated in every way like brutes, had sunk as nearly to their level as it was possible for human beings to do. To a late hour in the night, the sound of the grinding was protracted, for the mills were few in number compared with the grinders, and the weary and feeble ones were driven back by the strong, and came on last in their turn.

"Ho, you," said Sambo, coming to the mulatto woman, and throwing down a bag of corn before her, "what a cuss yo name?"

"Lucy," said the woman.

"Wal, Lucy, yo my woman now. Yo grind dis yer corn, and get *my* supper baked, ye har?"

"I aint your woman, and I won't be," said the woman, with the sharp, sudden courage of despair; "you go long."

"I'll kick yo, then," said Sambo, raising his foot threateningly.

"Ye may kill me if ye choose—the sooner the better. Wish't I was dead," said she.

"I say, Sambo, you go to spilin the hands, I'll tell mass'r o' you," said Quimbo, who was busy at the mill, from which he had viciously driven two or three tired women who were waiting to grind their corn.

"And I'll tell him ye won't let the women come to the mills, yo old nigger," said Sambo. "Yo jes keep to yo own row."

Tom was hungry with his day's journey, and almost faint for want of food.

"Thar, you," said Quimbo, throwing down a coarse bag, which contained a peck of corn; "thar, nigger, grab, take car on't—you won't get no more *dis* yer week."

Tom waited till a late hour, to get a place at the mills, and then, moved by the utter weariness of two women, whom he saw trying to grind their corn there, he ground for them, put together the decaying brands of the fire, where many had baked cakes before them, and then went about getting his own supper. It was a new kind of work there—a deed of charity, small as it was; but it woke an answering touch in their hearts—an expression of womanly kindness came over their hard faces, they mixed his cake for him, and tended its baking; and Tom sat down by the light of the fire, and drew out his Bible—for he had need of comfort.

"What's that?" said one of the women.

"A Bible," said Tom.

"Good Lord! han't seen un since I was in Kentuck."

"Was you raised in Kentuck?" said Tom, with interest.

"Yes, and well raised, too; never 'spected to come to dis yer," said the woman, sighing.

"What's dat ar book, any way?" said the other woman.

"Why, the Bible."

"Laws a me! what's dat?" said the woman.

"Do tell! you never hearn on't? I used to har missis a readin out sometimes in Kentuck, but laws o me! we don't har nothin here but crackin and swarin."

"Read a piece, anyways!" said the first woman, curiously, seeing Tom attentively poring over it.

Tom read—"Come unto ME, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

"Them's good words enough," said the woman; "who says em?"

"The Lord," said Tom.

"I jest wish I knowd whar to find Him," said the woman; "I would go; 'pears like I never should get rested agin. My flesh is fairly sore, and I tremble all over every day, and Sambo's allers a jawin at me, 'cause I doesn't pick faster; and nights it's most midnight fore I can get my supper; and den 'pears like I don't turn over and shut my eyes, 'fore I hear de horn blow to get up and at it agin in de mornin. If I knew whar de Lor was, I'd tell him."

"He's here, he's everywhere," said Tom.

"Lor, you aint gwine to make me believe dat ar; I know de Lord aint here," said the woman; "taint no use talking, tho'. I's jest gwine to camp down, and sleep while I ken."

The women went off to their cabins, and Tom sat alone, by the smouldering fire, that flickered up redly in his face.

The silver, fair-browed moon rose in the purple sky, and looked down, calm and silent, as God looks on the scene of misery and oppression—looked calmly on the lone black man, as he sat with his arms folded and his Bible on his knee.

"Is God HERE!" Ah, how is it possible for the untaught heart to keep its faith, unswerving, in the face of dire misrule and palpable, unrebuked injustice? In that simple heart waged a fierce conflict, the crushing sense of wrong and injustice, the foreshadowing of a whole life of future misery, the wreck of all past hopes mournfully tossing in the soul's sight, like dead corpses of wife, and child, and friend, rising from the dark wave and surging in the face of the half-drowned mariner! Ah, was it easy *here* to believe and hold fast the great pass-word of Christian faith, that "God IS, and is the REWARDER of them that diligently seek Him?"

Tom rose, disconsolate, and stumbled into the cabin that had been allotted to him. The floor was already strewn with weary sleepers, and the foul air of the place almost repelled him; but the heavy night dews were chill, and his limbs weary, and, wrapping about him a tattered blanket, which formed his only bed-clothing, he stretched himself in the straw and fell asleep.

In dreams, a gentle voice came over his ear; he was sitting on the mossy seat in the garden by Lake Pontchartrain, and Eva, with her serious eyes bent downward, was reading to him from the Bible; and he heard her read—

"When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour."

Gradually the words seemed to melt and fade, as in a divine music: the child raised her deep eyes, and fixed them lovingly on him, and rays of warmth and comfort seemed to go from them to his heart; and, as if wafted on the music, she seemed to rise on shining wings, from which flakes and spangles of gold fell off like stars, and she was gone.

Tom woke. Was it a dream? Let it pass for one. But who shall say that that sweet young spirit, which in life so yearned to comfort and console the distressed, was forbidden of God to assume this ministry after death?

It is a beautiful belief,
That ever round our head
Are hovering on angel wings
The spirits of the dead.

CHAPTER XXXII.

"And behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was *power*, but they had no comforter."—*Eccl.* iv, 1.

It took but a short time to familiarize Tom with all that was to be hoped or feared in his new way of life. He was an expert and efficient workman in whatever he undertook, and was, both from habit and principle, prompt and faithful. Quiet and peaceable in his disposition, he hoped, by unremitting diligence, to avert from himself at least a portion of the evils of his condition. He saw enough of abuse and misery to make him sick and weary, but he determined to toil on, with religious patience, committing himself to Him that judgeth righteously, not without hope that some way of escape might yet be opened to him.

Legree took silent note of Tom's availability. He rated him as a first-class hand; and yet he felt a secret dislike to him—the native antipathy of bad to good. He saw plainly, that when, as was often the case, his violence and brutality fell on the helpless, that Tom took notice of it; for, so subtle is the atmosphere of opinion, that it will make itself felt, without words; and the opinion, even of a slave, may annoy a master. Tom in various ways manifested a tenderness of feeling, a commiseration for his fellow-sufferers, strange and new to them, which was watched with a jealous eye by Legree. He had purchased Tom with a view of eventually making him a sort of overseer, with whom he might at times intrust his affairs in short absences; and, in his view, the first, second, and third requisite for that place, was *hardness*. Legree made up his mind, that as Tom was not hard to his hand, he would harden him forthwith: and some few weeks after Tom had been on the place, he determined to commence the process.

One morning when the hands were mustered for the field, Tom noticed with surprise a new-comer among them, whose appearance invited his attention. It was a woman, tall and slenderly formed, with remarkably delicate hands and feet, and dressed in neat and respectable garments. By the appearance of her face she might have been between thirty-five and forty, and it was a face that once seen could never be forgotten—one of those that at a glance seem to convey to us an idea of a wild, painful, and romantic history. Her forehead was high, and her eyebrows marked with beautiful clearness. Her straight, well-formed nose, her finely-cut mouth, and the graceful contour of her head and neck, showed that she must once have been beautiful; but her face was deeply wrinkled with lines of pain, and of proud and bitter endurance. Her complexion was sallow and unhealthy, her cheeks thin, her features sharp, and her whole form emaciated. But her eye was the most remarkable feature—so large, so heavily black, overshadowed by long lashes of equal darkness, and so wildly, mournfully despairing. There was a fierce pride and defiance in every line of her face, in every curve of the flexible lip, in every motion of her body, but in her eye was a deep, settled night of anguish—an expression so hopeless and unchanging as to contrast fearfully with the scorn and pride expressed by her whole demeanor.

Where she came from, or who she was, Tom did not know. The first he did know, she was walking by his side, erect and proud in the dim gray of the dawn. To the gang, however, she was known, for there was much looking and turning of heads, and a smothered yet apparent exultation among the miserable, ragged, half-starved creatures by whom she was surrounded.

"Got to come to it at last—glad of it!" said one.

"He! he! he!" said another; "you'll know how good it is, Misse!"

"We'll see her work!"

"Wonder if she'll get a cutting up at night like the rest of us!"

"I'd be glad to see her down for a flogging, I'll bound," said another.

The woman took no notice of these taunts, but walked on with the same expression of angry scorn as if she heard nothing. Tom had always lived among refined and cultivated people, and he felt intuitively from her air and bearing that she belonged to that class, but how or why she could be fallen to those degrading circumstances he could not tell. The woman neither looked at him nor spoke to him, though all the way to the field she kept close at his side.

Tom was soon busy at his work; but as the woman was at no great distance from him, he often glanced an eye to her at her work. He saw at a glance that a native adroitness and handiness made the task to her an easier one than it proved to many. She picked very fast and very clean, and with an air of scorn, as if she despised both the work and the disgrace and humiliation of the circumstances in which she was placed.

In the course of the day, Tom was working near the mulatto woman who had been brought in the same lot with himself. She was evidently in a condition of great suffering, and Tom often heard her praying, as she wavered and trembled, and seemed about to fall down. Tom silently, as he came near to her, transferred several handfulls of cotton from his own basket to hers.

"Oh, don't, don't!" said the woman, looking surprised; "it'll get you into trouble."

Just then Sambo came up. He seemed to have a special spite against this woman; and, flourishing his whip, said, in brutal, guttural tones, "What dis yer, Luce—foolin a'?" and with the word kicking the woman with his heavy cowhide shoe, he struck Tom across the face with his whip.

Tom silently resumed his task, but the woman, before at the last point of exhaustion, fainted.

"I'll bring her to!" said the driver, with a brutal grin. "I'll give her something better than camphire;" and, taking a pin from his coat-sleeve, he buried it to the head in her flesh. The woman groaned, and half rose. "Get up, you beast, and work, will yer, or I'll show yer a trick more."

The woman seemed stimulated for a few moments to an unnatural strength, and worked with desperate eagerness.

"See that you keep to dat ar," said the man, "or yer'll wish yer's dead to-night, I reckin."

"That I do now," Tom heard her say; and again he heard her say, "Oh, Lord, how long! Oh, Lord, why don't you help us?"

At the risk of all that he might suffer, Tom came forward again, and turned all the cotton in his basket into the woman's.

"Oh, you musn't; you donno what they'll do to ye," said the woman.

"I can bar it," said Tom, "better's you;" and he was at his place again. It passed in a moment.

Suddenly the stranger woman whom we have described, and who had in the course of her work come near enough to hear Tom's last words, raised her heavy, black eyes, and fixed them for a second on him; then taking a quantity of cotton from her basket, she placed it in his.

"You know nothing about this place," she said, "or you wouldn't have done that. When you've been here a month, you'll be done helping anybody; you'll find it hard enough to take care of your own skin."

"The Lord forbid, Miss's," said Tom, using instinctively to his field companion the respectful form proper to the high bred with whom he had lived.

"The Lord never visits these parts," said the woman, bitterly, as she went nimbly forward with her work; and again the scornful smile curled her lips.

But the action of the woman had been seen by the driver across the field, and, flourishing his whip, he came up to her.

"What! what!" he said to the woman, with an air of triumph, "you a foolin? Go along, yer under me—now mind yerself, or yer'll catch it."

A glance like sheet lightning suddenly flashed from those black eyes, and, facing about, with quivering lip and dilated nostrils, she drew herself up, and fixed her eyes, blazing with rage and scorn, on the driver.

"Dog," she said, "touch *me* if you dare! I've power enough yet, to have you torn by the dogs, burnt alive, cut to inches. I've only to say the word."

"What the devil you here for, den?" said the man, evidently cowed and sullenly retreating a step or two; "Didn't mean no harm, Miss Cassy."

"Keep your distance, then!" said the woman. And in truth the man seemed greatly inclined to attend to something at the other end of the field, and started off in quick time.

The woman suddenly turned to her work, and labored with a dispatch that was perfectly astonishing to Tom. She seemed to work by magic. Before the day was through, her basket was filled, crowded down, and piled, and she had several times put largely into Tom's. Long after dusk, the whole weary train, with their baskets on their heads, defiled up to the building appropriated to the storing and weighing the cotton. Legree was there, busily conversing with the two drivers.

"Dat ar Tom's gwine to make a powerful deal o' trouble; kept a puttin in to Lucy's basket; one o' these yer dat will get all der niggers to feelin 'bused, if mass'r don't watch him," said Sambo.

"Hoy-dey. The black cuss!" said Legree. "He'll have to get a breakin in, wont he, boys?"

Both negroes grinned a horrid grin at this intimation.

"Ay, ay, let mass'r Legree alone for breakin in. De debil heself couldn't beat mass'r at dat," said Quimbo.

"Wal, boys, the best way is to give him the flogging to do, till he gets over his notions. Break him in."

"Lord, mass'r 'll have hard work to get dat out o' him."

"It'll have to come out of him, tho'," said Legree, as he rolled his tobacco in his mouth.

"Now, dar's Lucy—de aggravatinest, ugliest wench on de place!" pursed Sambo.

"Take care, Sam; I shall begin to think what's the reason for your spite agin Lucy."

"Well, mass'r knows she sot herself up agin mass'r, and wouldn't have me when he telled her to."

"I'd a flogged her into 't," said Legree, spitting, "only there's such a press o' work, it don't seem wuth a while to upset her jist now. She's slender; but these yer slender gals will bear half killin to get their own way."

"Wal, Lucy was real aggravatin and lazy, sulkin round; wouldn't do nothin, and Tom he tuck up for her."

"He did, eh! Wal, then, Tom shall have the pleasure of flogging her. It'll be a good practice for him, and he won't put it on to the gal like you devils, neither."

"Ho, ho! haw! haw! haw!" laughed both the sooty wretches; and the diabolical sounds seemed in truth a not unapt expression of the fiendish character which Legree gave them.

"Wal, but mass'r, Tom and Misse Cassy, and dey among em, filled Lucy's basket. I ruther guess der weight's in it, mass'r."

"*I do the weighing*," said Legree, emphatically.

Both the drivers again laughed their diabolical laugh.

"So," he added, "Misse Cassy did her day's work."

"She picks like der debil and all his angels."

"She's got em all in her, I believe," said Legree; and, growling a brutal oath, he proceeded to the weighing room.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Georgia Legislature.—This body adjourned *sine die* on the 22d ult. The Senate indefinitely postponed resolutions recommending the people to send delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and recommending Buchanan for President, and Butler for Vice President.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

☞ Subscribers who do not file the *Era*, and have numbers 246, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 261, and 262, on hand, will confer a favor by remailing them to this office, at our expense.

☞ We are frequently called upon for missing numbers, which we always endeavor to supply; but should our friends not receive them, they may conclude we have none on hand.

☞ No receipts are sent from this office. As our terms are strictly *cash in advance*, the receipt of the paper will be a sufficient acknowledgment that the money has been received.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1852.

Election of Senators by the People.—Mr. Mace, of Indiana, lately introduced a joint resolution, of which previous notice had been given, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, so as to provide for the election of Senators by the qualified voters of each State; which was read a first and second time by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

We rejoice to see this movement, and hope Mr. Mace will not cease to urge it upon Congress. Senators chosen by the people of a State, will represent the principles of State Sovereignty just as much as they now do, being elected by the State Legislatures. The true Democratic principle requires that elections, where practicable, should be by the people directly. The intervention of organized bodies between the people and their representatives weakens the responsibility of the latter to the popular will, and renders them liable to influences repugnant to popular rights.

Not only should the mode, but the term of election be changed. The election of Senators for six years is against Democratic policy. Accountability is increased, fidelity confirmed in public servants, when the people secure the right of passing judgment upon their conduct, at brief intervals. The House, whose members come, fresh from the people every two years, reflect their sentiments and spirit more faithfully than the Senate, whose members are sent by the Legislatures, not the people of the States, and who hold their seats for six years.

But it will be time enough to enter into the question when it shall be presented in a practical shape, as we hope it may be, at no distant period.

THE PRINTING OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

The printing of proposals for contracts, and notices of any description, issuing from the Executive Departments of the Government, is regulated by the 12th section of an act, passed March 3d, 1845, as follows:

"Sec. 12. *And be it further enacted*, That in all cases where proposals for any contract or contracts to be made by any of the Executive Departments or Bureaus, and in all cases where notices of any description, issuing from the same, are now required by law to be advertised, the same shall be advertised by publication in the two newspapers in the city of Washington having the largest permanent subscription; and, at the discretion of the Executive, in any third paper that may be published in said city: *Provided*, That the charges for such publication shall not be higher than such as are paid by individuals for advertising in said papers: *And provided, also*, That the same publications shall be made in each of said papers equally, as to frequency."

Believing the *Era*, under this law, entitled to the Executive printing, we made the usual application for it during the administration of Mr. Polk, but his Secretaries disregarded it, not deeming it necessary to assign any reason for their conduct.

Under the administration of his successor, General Taylor, the application was renewed, and referred by the Postmaster General, Mr. Collamer, to the Attorney General, Mr. Johnson, for his opinion of the law. Mr. Johnson gave his opinion, setting aside our claim, on the ground of the second proviso in the section, which requires that the notices, &c., shall be published in the papers selected, "equally as to frequency." He held that, as the other papers were daily, and ours was weekly, it would be impossible for us to comply with this requisition, and therefore our application was rejected.

This construction was not in harmony with the obvious intent of the Proviso. The purpose of the law clearly was, to secure the widest possible publicity for the Executive printing, *independently of party considerations.* But, had the provision been merely, that notices and proposals should be published in the two papers having the largest permanent subscription, the President or his Secretaries might have baffled its intent, by publishing in the *favorite* paper *every week*, and in the *less favored* one, *only every month.* To prevent such favoritism, the proviso was added—that "the same publications shall be made in each paper, equally as to frequency."

Further, the *main provision* of the law was, that the printing should be done in the two papers having the largest permanent subscription—the *qualification* was, that it should be done in each, equally as to frequency. It seems clear that such a construction ought to have been given to the law as would secure, *first*, the execution of its main provision, provided that the qualification or proviso could then be complied with. As nothing was said in the law about *the frequency of the editions* of the papers, but the requisition was simply that they should be *newspapers*, and should have the *largest permanent subscription*, our paper, as coming within this description, was fairly entitled to the printing, and had such been the decision, the proviso could also have been fulfilled, as the notices and proposals could have been ordered to appear in the other paper selected, *as often as in ours.* While this construction would have secured the execution of the whole law, the construction adopted by the Attorney General secured the execution merely of the proviso, at the expense of the main provision and manifest intent of the law.

Soon after, General Taylor died. Other matters attracted our attention, and it was not till last October, that, hearing of the subject again, in connection with the application of the *Southern Press*, we renewed our claim, making a formal application to each of the Departments, accompanied by affidavits, declaring the amount of our permanent subscription.

Pending these claims, the Attorney General, Mr. Crittenden, at the request of Mr. Corwin, delivered a written opinion on the construction of the law, a copy of which we have permission to publish:

Attorney General's Office,
October 8, 1851.

Sir: You request my opinion as to the construction properly to be given to the 12th section of the act of 3d March, 1845. 5 Statutes at Large, 795.

That section prescribes to the Executive Department or Bureau, a rule of advertising "by publication in the two newspapers in the city of Washington having the largest permanent subscription."

The question is, Does this law intend that the advertising shall be in the newspapers whose proprietors issue the greatest number of papers each week, or to the proprietors having the greatest number of subscribers, including daily, tri-weekly, and weekly newspapers?

The law *intends to provide for the most extensive publicity, for the most diffused notice.*

The proprietor of a daily newspaper, who issues sixty thousand papers per week, supplies no more than ten thousand subscribers; whilst the proprietor of a weekly paper, who issues only forty thousand papers per week, supplies forty thousand subscribers.

A notice repeated six times per week to ten thousand subscribers, is not so extensively and widely diffused as a notice repeated weekly to forty thousand subscribers.

The sense and spirit of the statute *will not, in my opinion, be complied with, by giving the printing of advertisements to the proprietor of a newspaper issuing the greatest number of papers per week, to the exclusion of another proprietor,* WHO ISSUES HIS NEWSPAPER WEEKLY TO A GREATER NUMBER OF SUBSCRIBERS, ALTHOUGH THE NUMBER OF IMPRESSIONS ISSUED MAY BE SMALLER THAN THOSE OF THE OTHER PROPRIETOR AND EDITOR.

The true criterion established by the law has reference to the two newspapers in this city having the greatest number of permanent subscribers, including in the computation subscribers to the daily, tri-weekly, and weekly newspapers issued by the same proprietor. Such is my construction of the words, "having the largest permanent subscription." The statute does not look to the largest sum of money received by the proprietor of a newspaper, but to the largest number of permanent subscribers supplied by the proprietor, including the daily, tri-weekly, and weekly, if such are constantly published and issued by him.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant, J. J. Crittenden.

We place in italics or small caps the passages to which special attention is solicited. The decision is certainly conclusive in support of our claim. It is, that the permanent subscription of a newspaper is to be estimated, not by the number of papers it sends out in a week, but by the number of its subscribers; that the sense and spirit of the law therefore are violated, if the advertisements of the Executive Departments be given to a newspaper which issues daily, tri-weekly, and weekly editions, instead of to a weekly newspaper, should the latter have more subscribers than the aggregate number of subscribers to all the editions of the former.

Mr. Corwin endorsed the views of the Attorney General.

We visited the Postmaster General. He said that he had submitted to the Attorney General a point or two for reconsideration; but if he heard nothing from him on the subject, he must consider the Opinion binding.

We have heard of no reconsideration, and suppose that Mr. Hall adheres to the decision announced to Mr. Fisher, of the *Southern Press*, who states, in his paper of last Friday, that, after his return from the West, he waited upon the Postmaster General, to hear a reason for his decision against the claim of the *Southern Press.* "He said," says Mr. Fisher, "that the reason was that, according to the decision of the Attorney General, the *National Era* would be entitled to the printing in preference to us, as it had a larger aggregate circulation."

The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Stuart, informed us, on two or three occasions, that he would decide when all the papers were before him, but that the affidavits of the *Union* and *Intelligencer* had not yet been presented to him.

From the Secretary of War, Mr. Conrad, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, we have heard nothing, though our application, with the requisite papers, has been before them three months, and their attention has been called to it, at least once within that period.

The following communication from Mr. Graham, Secretary of the Navy, contains his decision in relation to the notices emanating from his Department:

Navy Department, *Nov. 29, 1851.*

Sir: Owing to the pressure of other business, your claim to have the proposals for contracts and notices of this Department advertised in the *National Era*, as set forth in your letter of the 8th of October, and referred to in another letter of later date, has not been before considered.

The delay has been unintentional, and has worked no injury of which I am aware, even if my present determination shall be erroneous.

Having early in July, soon after the commencement of the present fiscal year, upon the application of another paper of this city, which then laid claim to supersede those in which the advertisements had been previously issued, investigated the claims of each, I declined to withdraw the advertisements from them, and so informed the proprietors of the *National Intelligencer* and *Union*.

This would be a sufficient reason not to bring them thus early to a new vindication of their claims, at the instance of another journal of the city, which at that time did not think proper to compete. The decision in that case, however, proceeded on the ground that the *Intelligencer* and *Union* exceeded the competing journal in the number of their weekly issues, and that from the habitual practice of the Department, before and since the passage of the law referred to by you, to insert its advertisements and notices in the daily papers of the city, and the great public convenience of such a practice, it was presumed that they only were in the contemplation of Congress in its enactment.

The affidavit furnished by you removes the first ground of decision, so far as regards the *Union*, unless its subscriptions have been increased since the former investigation, but the latter still remains. I therefore decline to give the order requested by you.

No advertisement, of which I am aware, has been published by the Department since your application; and Congress being about to convene, if this construction of the statute be erroneous, it may be readily corrected.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,
Will. A. Graham.

G. Bailey, Esq.,
Editor of the National Era.

The Secretary concedes that our circulation, were there no other objection in the way, would entitle the *Era* to the Executive printing, when he says that "the affidavit furnished by you removes the first ground of decision, so far as the *Union* is concerned." He might have added, that in point of subscription the *Era* took precedence of any other paper published at the Seat of Government. To show this, we present a tabular statement of the "*permanent subscriptions*" of the newspapers named, as certified by the affidavits of their proprietors, respectively:

Number of papers published by the National Intelligencer, Union, and Southern Press, as presented and considered July 9th, 1851.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.	
Daily papers	2,040
Tri-weekly papers	4,872
Weekly papers	2,322
Total	9,234
UNION.	
Daily papers	900
Semi-weekly papers	2,250
Weekly papers	4,300
Total	7,450
SOUTHERN PRESS.	
Daily papers	212
Tri and semi-weekly papers	2,142
Weekly papers	5,782
Exchange daily	114
" tri and semi-weekly	200
" weekly	88
Total	8,538
PAPERS PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS.	
Daily	384
Tri and semi-weekly	2,500
Weekly	6,110
Total printed	8,991

The *National Era*, according to affidavit made October 9, 1851, had 14,500 subscribers.

The *Intelligencer*, according to this statement, had a larger permanent subscription than either the *Press* or the *Union*; while the *National Era* outnumbered the *Intelligencer* by 5,266 subscribers.

The sole ground on which the Secretary denies our application we give in his own words:

"From the habitual practice of the Departments, before and after the passage of the law referred to by you, to insert its advertisements and notices in the Daily papers of the city, and the great public convenience of such a practice, it is presumed that they only were in the contemplation of Congress in its enactment."

No matter what was in the contemplation of Congress, opinions may differ on that point—what Congress *did* is the proper subject of inquiry. Had it meant Daily papers, the insertion of the word "Daily" would have suggested itself at once, as an easy, infallible mode of carrying out its purpose. That it did not insert the word "Daily," or any word that could imply that Daily papers were in its contemplation, is conclusive against Mr. Graham's presumption.

The printing of the Executive Departments shall be done "*in the two newspapers in the city of Washington having the largest permanent subscription.*" No law can be plainer than this. There are *Weekly*, Tri-weekly, Semi-weekly, and Daily *newspapers*—but the law says not a word, intimates nothing, as to how *often* the papers should be published—its only requisition respects the amount of "the permanent subscription." When Mr. Graham undertakes to limit it to *Daily* papers, he usurps the authority of a law-maker—he *changes* a law of Congress—he adds to that law a new provision—he makes a new law. If he may amend a law of Congress, so may the President amend any law he is called upon to execute. The question is not, what shall be the construction of an ambiguous sentence or clause, in which the executor or administrator of the law must use a sound discretion, in determining the true meaning—but, whether an Executive officer may add a new provision to a law, by presuming a certain intent on the part of its makers, which they failed to embody in the law itself. If Executive officers may assume such power, there is an end to all responsible Government. Of a piece with this usurpation, is the conduct of the Secretary of War as reported by the *Southern Press.* The editor of that paper says:

"We have called several times on the Secretary of War. Once he was otherwise engaged. Yesterday we called on him again, and stated the points on which we relied, in order that, if over-ruled, we might not have the trouble of further proceedings. Although declining to decide definitely, he said he was under the impression that he would decide as the other Secretaries had done, but perhaps not for the same reasons. He thought *that the law did not design to give the printing to a sectional paper.* This was enough for us. The law may not have so designed. The law may be wrong—perhaps it ought to be altered. *But it is yet the law.* And here is a Secretary of a law-loving, law-abiding Cabinet, a faithful-execution-of-the-law Cabinet, who thinks that circumstances have altered, and virtually decides to suspend the execution of a law."

The law says to those Secretaries—"Print your notices in *the two newspapers having the largest permanent subscription.*" The Secretaries say that the law meant—Print your notices in the two *Daily* newspapers, *not sectional*, having the largest permanent subscription; therefore, we will not obey the law *as it is*, but the law *as amended by us!*

This is precisely the position of these two law-abiding Secretaries of a law-loving President!

But, the reasons on which Mr. Graham rests his presumption that Congress intended Daily papers, are inconclusive. The first reason is, that it has been the habitual practice of the Departments to publish their notices in the Daily papers, before and since the passage of the law. This, we believe, is a mistake. A weekly German newspaper, favorable to Mr. Polk's administration, was selected by him as the third paper for the publication of Executive notices; and Mr. Graham knows that a weekly political newspaper, in Washington city, with a larger permanent subscription than any other newspaper, would at any time have had the printing of any Administration, Whig or Democratic, if a supporter of its measures.

The second reason is, "the great public convenience" of advertising in the Daily papers. Let us examine this. Proposals for contracts for carrying the mails and for supplies, notices of treaties, commercial arrangements, &c., constitute the most important parts of the Executive printing. What is the object of their publication? The *widest possible publicity throughout the country* Is this to be secured by inserting them in the Daily papers of this city of forty thousand people, one of which has a circulation of two thousand subscribers, and the other of one thousand, for the most part residents of the District? Or is it not to be secured by their publication in a weekly newspaper, which goes to nearly seventeen thousand subscribers, (as is now the case,) residing in all States of the Union, and especially in those sections in which contracts are usually made on the most favorable terms?

The People will decide whether for such advertising a weekly newspaper of large and extended circulation is not a greater public convenience than a Daily press local in its circulation, and with not an eighth of the number of subscribers to the former.

We shall notice one objection more to the selection of a weekly for such printing, and that is presented by the editor of the *Southern Press*, which says:

"But the *National Era* is only a weekly paper, and *cannot* advertise when the Government has many advertisements, such as a proclamation against Fillibusters that must be inserted immediately, and cannot wait a week for the *National Era* to appear, as in that time Cuba might be taken. And for this very cogent reason the *National Era* was excluded long ago on its application, and yet it was permitted to come in and contest ours."

The *National Era* was not excluded on this ground, but for the reason assigned by Mr. Johnson, as stated above. The answer to the objection raised by the *Southern Press* is obvious. There are very few advertisements which are required to be published on the instant, or every day; and it is for the Executive Departments to order these to be published at the times required by law, and not to withhold them because we do not print a Daily paper. If we fail to comply with their order, they may annul the contract; but they have no right to presume in advance that we *intend to refuse compliance*, and on this presumption excuse their own non-compliance with law. Let them do their duty—let them not assume to alter a law of Congress—let them obey the law—let them give their advertisements "to the two newspapers in Washington having the largest permanent subscription," whether they be Weekly or Daily—if any advertisements must be published immediately, or at a certain date, or every day, *according to law*, let them order the publication to be made accordingly. Though we publish a Weekly, we can comply with the order, by issuing the publication at the date and times specified, and sending it to all our subscribers, and we certainly should do so if compatible with our interests, otherwise we should inform them, and they would of course transfer their printing to those papers that could do it.

This is the course dictated by the law and by common sense. The decision made by Mr. Graham we do not acquiesce in, and if on consultation a legal process shall appear advisable, we shall undoubtedly try what virtue there is in that against an Administration which, vaunting its determination to enforce the laws evinces a manifest purpose to disregard them,

A few incidental remarks, and we shall close this exposition. If we are not mistaken, the Executive advertisements appear in but one edition of the newspapers printing them; that is, while claiming the advertisements on the ground of the aggregate subscribers to their daily, tri-weekly, semi-weekly, and weekly editions, they print them only in their daily edition. The *Union*, for example, to show its title, claims seven thousand subscribers to all its issues, and then sends the advertisements only to its daily subscribers, amounting to but one thousand.

The affidavit of our chief clerk, made last October, showed our permanent subscription to be 14,500. We were printing then less than at any time during the year, as subscribers whose terms were running out deferred renewing till near the session of Congress. Since then, our list has largely increased, and we are now issuing 16,800, all of which, with the exception of about six hundred for exchange papers, are sent to permanent subscribers—that is, subscribers who have paid for their paper in advance; and this number, from present indications, will soon have to be augmented.

Now, under the decision of the Secretary of the Navy, this paper, with seventeen thousand subscribers, distributed throughout all the States, and which might give eight times the publicity to the Executive advertisements which they now have in the columns of the *Union* or *Intelligencer*, is excluded because it is weekly and they are daily; and this, in disregard of the law, and of the written opinion of the Attorney General, the constitutional adviser of the President and his Cabinet!

So far as the pecuniary aspects of the question are concerned, we care nothing. We do not require such advertisements for the support of our paper, nor is it certain that we could make them profitable. If, beside our weekly edition of seventeen thousand, we issued a daily of one or two thousand, and, as is the custom here, should insert such advertisements in the daily alone, we could make them pay, as the paper for it would cost only about one seventeenth as much as the paper of the weekly edition. But we should be obliged to furnish for several classes of advertisements, those for instance for mail contracts, an extra sheet, and send this extra sheet to seventeen thousand persons, an operation which would reduce greatly if it did not cancel the profits of the job.

But, if not an object to us of pecuniary importance, still we wish to see justice done. Believing that our right to the Executive advertisements is clear, we wish to see it recognised, the more as we are constrained to believe that its denial springs from that policy of proscription which the ruling powers have attempted systematically to enforce against anti-slavery men and measures.

Death of James G. Birney.—A telegraphic despatch announces that Hon. James G. Birney, who was the candidate of the Liberty party for President in 1844, died at his residence in Michigan, a few days since.

COMPLETION OF THE RECORD.

The hammer of the Speaker fell *before* Mr. Rantoul (a report of whose speech is published on our fourth page) had completed the record of Mr. Davis on the Anti-Slavery Question. We shall briefly supply what was abruptly cut off.

When Mr. Davis was a candidate for Congress, in the fall of 1850, he wrote a letter in reply to certain inquiries, dated November 2d, which was published in the *Boston Atlas* of November 7th, whose editor commended it warmly to the "Friends of Freedom" in the District of Mr. Davis. It was this letter that really secured his election. In it he took the strongest ground against the Fugitive Law, said that it "ought not and cannot be satisfactory to our people," or "remain on the statute-book." The law ought to provide, he said, that in the case of an alleged fugitive, the question of identity and freedom should be tried by a jury. But this was not all. He announced his cordial concurrence with the resolves on that subject, passed by the Whig District Convention, assembled a short time previously. The Convention in these resolves rejoiced at the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, denounced the Fugitive Law as rendering a provision of the Constitution, "odious in itself," still more "odious and detestable," deprecated violent resistance to it, but recommended the State to appoint Commissioners for the defence of alleged fugitives, and to pay the expenses thereof.

After all this, Mr. Davis comes to Washington, and his first act is to go into a Whig Caucus, and vote to make adherence to the Fugitive Law and Compromise a test of Whig orthodoxy!!

Slaveholding Emigrants to California. We find the following interesting statement in the Charleston *Courier*. The "manifest destiny" of South California must be eventually fulfilled.—*Southern Press.*

"The strong feeling lately exhibited in the mining districts of California in favor of introducing slave labor into that portion of our territory on the Pacific, has, we perceive, had its effect on many citizens on the Atlantic coast, who, well aware of the innumerable advantages that would accrue to them, were they permitted to employ that particular description of property in the gold regions, are daily making arrangements for the transmission of themselves and slaves to that section of our possessions; and that fine steamship, the Isabel, has on several occasions had on board some passengers, with their servants, *en route* for the Pacific. On her last trip, she took out a large number, amongst whom, as we learn from the Yorkville *Remedy*, were twenty young men, with as many negroes, from Burke and Catawba counties, North Carolina—some, says the *Remedy*, hardy-looking fellows, who seemed bent to have their shares of the gold dust, if hard work or knocks can bring it. The following is a list of their names: R. R. Perkins and four servants, Thos. Walker, and three do., T. J. Corpening and one do., W. A. Wallace and one do., Bartlett Berry and one do., T. Avery and one do., J. Keller and one do., Patton Pearson and three servants of R. C. Pearson's, Jackson and William, and two servants, Robert Long, Wilburn Patton, Thomas Walker, William Dorsey, Henry England, Philo Kaylor, Michael Keller, Isaac Whisenhunt, Monroe Webb, Daniel Hicks, Joab Hicks and three servants of Jas. C. Smyth's.

"We understand, likewise, that several other parties from North Carolina are about starting with their slaves, and that the agent in this city for the Isabel has several applications for passage; and we have little doubt their labors will be attended with such success as to induce very large emigration from the slaveholding States during the next year, as from all accounts there are there certain seasons, as in the Southern States, when negro labor is alone available with safety to health, in damp and marshy localities."

This is cool. The Compromise provided for the admission of California into the Union. It is now a State, with all the rights of any other State. North Carolina slaveholders have no more right to take their slaves to California, with a view of holding them there, than they have to emigrate with them to Ohio, or New York, or Massachusetts. The attempt is an invasion of State sovereignty—an insult to the people of California, who have by a solemn vote excluded slavery, and we trust they will resent it in such a way as forever to prevent its repetition.

By the way, North Carolina is peculiarly devoted to the Compromise, and yet we find her citizens are engaged in a plot to smuggle slavery into California, divide that State, and organize a new slave State, in utter disregard of the Compromise!

Instigating Articles for the Era.—Mr. Taylor of Ohio, a few days since, intimated that an article, analyzing the votes on the Kossuth resolutions, and censuring the conduct of Mr. Barrere and other members, was instigated by Mr. Cartter. Being questioned by Mr. Cartter, he said Mr. Barrere told him so, and Mr. Barrere then said, Mr. Hunter told him so. Mr. Hunter denied it, and explained the matter so as to exculpate Mr. Cartter entirely, who had promptly repelled the imputation.

We have proper respect for members of Congress, in *their sphere*, but as a general rule, they have no more brains than are necessary to the decent discharge of their own duties. The *Era* owes nothing to them except to tell the truth to them and about them.

For the National Era.

LEFT ALONE.

BY MISS PHŒBE CAREY.

She's left me here alone again;
'Twill be a weary lot,
Through all this cheerless winter time
To live where she is not:
To sit, where once we used to sit,
With smileless lip and dumb,
To count the moments since she went,
And know not when she'll come!

We talked through all the summer time,
We'd talked through all the spring,
Of how about the winter hearth
We'd make a pleasant ring;
Of how with loving words and looks
The time should all be sped;
The firelight's glow is mournful now,
The books are all unread.

We never were together long,
We have not been so blest;
I might have known this hope of ours
Would perish like the rest:
And half I trembled all the while,
And feared it would be so—
The hand of fate would press me back
From where her feet must go.

If there shall ever be a time,
When, as in days that wore,
My soul can whisper all its dreams
And all its thoughts to her;
When I can share her heart's sweet hopes,
Or soothe its bitter pain—
I would the hours were past till then,
And that were come again!

The Washington Union tries to magnify its importance, by representing itself as the object of the combined assaults of the *National Era*, the *Southern Press*, and the *American Telegraph*. We believe there is a struggle between the *Southern Press* and the *Union*, as to which is the better representative of Southern opinions, and which has the greater claim to official patronage; but really, we have taken no part in it. Occasionally, in an incidental way, we have referred to the *Union*, as advocating doctrines and measures inconsistent with true Democracy, but we have never thought it worth while to wage war against it, for its circulation and influence in the free States are so limited, that it would be a waste of time for us to devote much attention to the exposure and correction of its heresies.

As to its claim to printing the Census, and all that, we have said nothing, because we cared nothing. The scramble for such patronage is a small business, and the *Era* takes no part or interest in it. That Congress should spend week after week in interminable discussion on the question who shall print certain of its documents, is perfectly ridiculous. When an author has a book to publish, an hour's conversation with two or three principal publishers, suffices, and his book is printed on terms advantageous to both parties. He settlee in a few minutes what the marvellous wisdom of two hundred and fifty of the elect of the People cannot settle in as many months!

Mr. Madison's Views of Secession.—We have always contended for the right of Secession as a *revolutionary right.* It certainly does not belong to the Constitution, for no Government makes provision for its own destruction. Such was the view of Mr. Madison. In a letter, published for the first time, in a late Biography of Mr. Webster, and dated March 15, 1833, occurs the following passage:

"Montpelier, *March* 15, 1833.

"My Dear Sir: I return my thanks for the copy of your late very powerful speech in the Senate of the United States. It crushes Nullification, and must hasten an abandonment of Secession. But this dodges the blow, by confounding the claim to secede at will with the right of seceding from intolerable oppression. The former answers itself, being a violation without cause of a faith solemnly pledged. The latter is another name only for revolution, about which there is no theoretic controversy. Its double aspect, nevertheless, with the countenance received from certain quarters, is giving it a popular currency here, which may influence the approaching elections both for Congress and for the State Legislature. It has gained some advantage also by mixing itself with the question, whether the Constitution of the United States was formed by the People or by the States, now under a theoretic discussion by animated partisans.

"It is fortunate when disputed theories can be decided by undisputed facts; and here the undisputed fact is, that the Constitution was made by the People, but as imbodied into the several States who were parties to it, and therefore made by the States in their highest authoritative capacity."

The Higher Law Nullified in Michigan.—The Board of Regents of the University of Michigan have made quite a clean sweep of their Professors, as appears by the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That in view of the duty devolving upon the Board of Regents elect to reorganize the Faculty of Arts in the University, and to appoint a President, it is expedient that the Board provide for that contingency, by determining the terms of the existing members of said Faculty; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the terms of the present Professors of Philosophy and Mathematics—of Logic, Rhetoric, and History—and of Greek and Latin languages, in the University, respectively, terminate and expire at the close of the present academic year, or at such other *previous* time as the Board of Regents elect may determine, and to appoint their successors."

These resolutions were adopted as a substitute for the following resolutions submitted by Judge Pratt, which disclose the reason of the change:

"Whereas the great primary object of establishing the University of Michigan, as clearly expressed by the people through the act of their Legislature, was 'to provide the inhabitants of the State with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of Literature, Science and the Arts;' that, as such Institution, it is worthy of the pride and fostering care of every citizen of the entire State, and whose duty it should ever be to watch and guard it assiduously, and to see that it is not by any means perverted, or directly or indirectly used for any other purpose, and especially that it is not used for the inculcation of political and religious dogmas:

"And whereas it is represented, and is undoubtedly true, that the *Rev. D. D. Whedon*, one of the Professors of said Institution, has during a period of time past not only publicly preached but otherwise openly advocated the doctrine called 'the *Higher Law*'—a doctrine which is unathorized by the Bible, at war with the principles, precepts, and examples of Chris and his Apostles, subversive alike of civil gov ernment, civil society, and the legal rights o individual citizens—and in effect constitutes in the opinion of this board, a species of mora treason against the Government:

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. D. D. Whedon, fo the reasons aforesaid, be and is hereby re moved."

This is about as choice a specimen of th *Lower Law* spirit as we have met with. Th University of Michigan, under such auspice must soon obtain the fame of unrivalled ortho doxy.

GRANTS OF LAND TO THE NEW STATES.

There has been considerable discussion i the Senate on a bill granting the right of wa to Iowa, for a railroad through that State, to gether with 1,800,000 acres of land for rai road purposes in the State generally. Thu far, no new views have been presented, excep by Mr. Sumner, who, in a brief, closely-reasone speech on the 17th, argued in favor of the bil especially on the ground of equity.

In the commencement of his remarks, h guarded himself against any imputation tha might be made against him, of a disposition t give away the public domain to corporation by avowing himself distinctly in favor of th policy of granting limited portions of it to ac ual settlers. He adopted gladly, he remarke the proposition in favor of actual settlers of th Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. Walker. Th construction of great highways, for intercour and commerce, is deemed by them, we pre sume, favorable to the policy of this proposition as it must add to the value of the lands and o the labor of the settlers.

To facilitate these works, Mr. Sumner wa prepared to advocate the bill, and other bill proposing similar grants, and in support of i he presented, with great clearness and force, consideration that has not hitherto been dwel upon—"*the exemption from taxation enjoyed b the National lands in the several States, and th unquestionable value of the franchise.*"

He proceeded, first, to show the origin, nature and extent of this immunity enjoyed by the National Domain. High judicial authorities sustained him in the opinion that, had it not been for positive agreement exempting the public lands, the States in which they lie would have had the right of taxation. The exemption was secured first by compact, and then by successive acts of Congress. In securing this immunity, our fathers not only acted from prudential motives, but under the influence of precedent, derived at that time from the British Crown. It was a royal prerogative in early times that the property of the Crown, of every nature, should be free from taxation. By a statute passed twelve years after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, this prerogative was limited, the immunity was restricted to the property of the Crown *necessary as a means and instrument of Government*—the private property belonging to it was subjected to taxation. This change was not followed in the United States. The public lands were not necessary as *means or instruments of the Government*, and yet they were continued free from taxation; the policy of the Ordinance of 1787 being maintained.

The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, which of course is bound to find fault with Mr. Sumner, takes occasion, from an imperfect telegraphic report of his argument, to denounce this part of it. "Mr. Sumner," it remarks, "says that the United States have held public lands on the old feudal principle, that lands belonging to the Crown could not be taxed." This is not true. He said explicitly that the exemption of the public lands from taxation rested on compact and law, but that, in securing this exemption, our fathers acted, not only from *the suggestions of prudence, but under the influence of precedent*, derived from the prerogatives of the British Crown.

Nor did Mr. Sumner complain of this exemption, or desire to see any change of policy. He simply referred to it, as affording ample ground of equity, under which the land States may now appeal to the nation for assistance out of these public lands. To estimate the extent of this *equity*—for he would not use a stronger term—he submitted some carefully-prepared statistics showing the value of the immunity enjoyed. This constituted the second branch of his argument. Ascertaining the amount of proclaimed public lands in the several States, which had been exempted down to the year 1850, and supposing that they had been taxed as the lands of other non-resident proprietors, at an average of one cent an acre, he inferred, a saving of taxes to the Government to the amount of $72,490,475. Against this, he estimated the value of reservations and grants by the United States to the different States and Territories at $25,788,257, leaving a balance of $46.702,218 to the credit of the land States.

Mr. Sumner used this argument to prove, not that we were bound to make grants to the States enough to cancel this balance, but that Congress ought to deal liberally towards them.

We notice his argument very briefly, intending to publish it in next week's *Era.* Our present purpose is merely to guard against the misrepresentations of such papers as the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, which are anxious for an occasion to damage a Senator whom they could not keep down or control. His speech was received with high approbation by Western Senators, and its views have been strongly endorsed by the Washington *Republic*, which certainly has never been suspected of expressing opinions at variance with those entertained by Mr. Webster.

Two remarks are necessary to show our own position on the subject of this article. We think that the original cost of the lands lying in the several States, with the interest, ought to be added to the value of the grants and reservations, as a set-off against the value of the immunity of the public domain from taxation; and, were this done, the balance left to the credit of the land States would be considerably reduced.

Again, so wasteful has been the policy of Congress, especially of late years, in regard to the public lands, that there is danger that they may all be squandered before the great measure of homes for the homeless, land for the landless, can be carried. For this reason, we would insist upon a wise economy. Where the work for which a State asks a grant of land from the Government, is one of obvious importance, will raise the value of the public domain, will promote its settlement, and enhance the price of the products and labors of the actual settlers, we would make the grant—but it should be moderate, and confined to a specific purpose, not loosely made for the promotion of a wasteful system of internal improvements. Such, we presume, are the views of Mr. Sumner.

Prosperity in the South.—The *Lynchburgh Virginian* gives the following as an evidence of the prosperity of the South, and the beneficial workings of the Compromise:

"*Value of Slaves.*—Last Saturday, twenty-one slaves, belonging to the estate of William Pendleton, consisting of old and young men, women, and children, and not regarded as above ordinary, were sold in this place at the average price of $553. One negro man without a trade, sold for $1,028; a woman with a child ten months old, sold for $950; and a girl, aged eleven years, for $600. These, we understand, are about the rates at which slaves have been selling for some weeks in this market. Negro men are hiring on the public works at from $120 to $159 a year. It was predicted that the passage of the Compromise Measures would have the effect of cheapening, if not rendering valueless, this species of property. Behold the result."

Behold the result—a Christian State reckoning its wealth according to the price its laboring people, along with horses and beeves, will command in the market!

Runaways in Mexico.—A late number of the *Trait d' Union* of the city of Mexico says:

"A party of Americans were near Monclova, preparing, according to the *Siglo*, to 'invade the State of Coahuila.' *They appear, from the accounts, to be in pursuit of their runaway negro slaves from Texas. They were suspected of complicity with Caravajal.*"

The determination to recapture fugitive slaves has had as much to do with the patriotic enterprise of Caravajal, as anything else.

Usurpation Sustained by Priestly Power.—The usurpation of Napoleon found prompt and energetic support, as might have been expected, in the Catholic Priesthood. The following circular was addressed by the Bishop of Chartres to his clergy, December 12th:

"Chartres, *December* 12, 1851.

"Monsieur Le Cure: Understand fully the counsel communicated in this letter. I beg you earnestly to conform to it. The 20th or 21st of the present month, the people of France are to decide whether Louis Bonaparte shall be for ten years President of our country. Yes or No, inscribed on tickets by all the citizens, decides the question whose consequences are infinite. Influenced by your views, and still more by the love of country of which Jesus Christ has given you the example, you will, I doubt not, sign Yes. Providence has given you at this moment only this means of safety. It is evident that if Bonaparte be rejected, France has no one to put in his place. The people, deceived by intrigues and false suggestions, might make a detestable choice, which would plunge our country into new and unparalleled calamities. We have escaped the 2d of May, 1851, which was opening for France a frightful abyss. It would be madness to bring back this chance of ruin and death. All that we have learned for days past of the abominations, the horrors, and the most savage excesses that have just taken place, are but the specimen, or the anticipated sketch, of the monstrous crimes that would be perpetrated on a lower scale, and throughout all France, if God had permitted the triumph of Socialism. You feel, M. le Cure, the irresistible force of these reflections, which must strike every thinking man, and in which, I believe, they will hasten to agree.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

† Cl. Hip., Bishop of Chartres.

Military and Ecclesiastical Despotism united—harmonious alliance!

Governor Wood's Somerset.—One year ago, Governor Wood, of Ohio, after arguing the constitutionality of the Fugitive Law, added:

"I must not, by any means, be understood as attempting to defend the propriety and expediency of this law. It is unacceptable to a very large majority of the people of the North. Public disapprobation will continue to hamper its execution and agitate its repeal. It is, in my opinion, inexpedient. A law that makes *ex parte* evidence conclusive of the master's right to recapture and return his slave; that denies a jury trial *here* and *elsewhere*; that provides for the appointment of swarms of petty officers to execute it; that gives a double compensation to find every claim set up in favor of the master, and pays the expenses in any case from the public treasury, can never receive the voluntary co-operation of our people."

By the aid of Free Soil Democrats he was re-elected, receiving a majority of twenty-six thousand votes—a majority he could not have received had it not been for the impression that he continued to hold the sentiments of the foregoing paragraph.

How well entitled he was to their confidence, let the following extract from his late message show. Speaking of the Compromise of which the Fugitive Slave Law is a part, he says:

"Under all the circumstances which surround us, *it should remain undisturbed*, and this fruitful source of agitation and excitement *be forever closed*."

Put not your faith in Governors.

Col. Anthony Kimmel, of Maryland, writes from Rome to his son at Frederick, Md., that

"The Pope has directed two large stones—the one to be taken from the Capitol, the other from the Coliseum—to be prepared in Rome, and to be presented by him to the Washington Monument, now being erected in the city of Washington to the memory of the Father of his Country."

Had the People of Rome signified by these tokens their high appreciation of the character of Washington, we should have welcomed their gifts and have understood their meaning. But when the Pope sends his contribution to the monument of Washington, we are reminded of those who, while building the tombs of the prophets, killed their successors. How can the man who has violated all his early professions of regard for Popular Rights, who has played false to his People, who has reimposed upon them burdens too intolerable to be borne, who has used, and been used by, the vile Despotisms of Europe for the overthrow of Freedom, who has caused the suppression of religious freedom in Spain and Tuscany, and denied the rights of conscience in his own special dominions—how can such a man honor George Washington, the glorious embodiment of every Principle which the Pope and his fellow Despots abhor and are seeking to destroy? It were as consistent for the American Government to confer distinguished honor upon the butcher Haynau, as for Pope Pius to help build the monument of George Washington. Let the Pope prove himself worthy of honoring our dead patriots, by recognising and respecting the living principles for which they "pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

A Barbarous Proposition.—Leave has been granted to Mr. Fleming to bring into the House of Delegates of Maryland a bill to tax free negroes in the State, and to prevent the issuing to them of licenses to sell. The *Baltimore Clipper*, though in favor of colonizing the free people of color, opposes this barbarous policy. They are now, it remarks, subject to the same taxes as are imposed on white people. To extort from them, in addition, a poll-tax, would be unjust:

"They are dependent upon their own labor for the maintenance of themselves and families, and many of them obtain support by means of licenses, for which they pay. Deprive them of the privilege of procuring licenses, and they would be deprived of 'the means whereby they live.' In fact, it would be striking down the very best among that class of people; for those among them who are sober, industrious, and prudent, soon become able to set up some little business, to increase their means."

Why does not the American Colonization Society set its face against this mean and cruel legislation against the colored people, for whose welfare it professes such anxiety? Instead of opposing this rank injustice, it merely uses it as an argument in favor of expatriating the race from the country. This is the chief cause of the hostility of the free people of color to its organization and action.

Kossuth.—The Pittsburgh *Gazette* of the 28th ult. denies, upon undoubted authority, the statement that the Sublime Porte had protested against the return of Kossuth to England. When the United States first demanded the liberation of Kossuth, the Sultan did not yield because he believed Kossuth's liberation was to be effected on condition of his going to America. The Sultan declared he would protect Kossuth against his enemies as long as he was in his dominions, and that when he left Turkey he should be free to go where he chose.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Life and Works of John Adams. Volumes III, IV, and V. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown.

The editor of this great work, Charles F. Adams, is entitled to praise for the careful and judicious manner in which he is presenting the Life and Writings of his illustrious grandfather to the Public. The volumes, when completed, will form a library of most important and varied information. In the third volume is completed the Autobiography, and then follows the Diary, ranging from the year 1777 to 1796. Next we have the Essays and Controversial Papers relating to the Revolution, occupying a part of this third volume, and filling the fourth and fifth volumes, containing Dissertations on Government, with an examination into the various forms of Republican Government, in ancient and modern times. Every student of American history, American laws, usages, and institutions, should make himself acquainted with these papers, containing as they do the reflections of a mind of great comprehension, deep sagacity, and extensive learning, on the fundamental principles of Government.

Christian Parlor Magazine. New York: Geo. Pratt.

This popular magazine has in the number before us some fine articles, the most noticeable of which are the biographies of Kossuth and of Sontag, Countess de Rossi.

Announcement to a Course of Medical Lectures to Women, in the city of Boston. By the Faculty of the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the New England Medical College. To commence on Monday, February 14, 1852, and continue for four months.

We trust that all true women will give their sincere, and, as far as may be, active sympathy to the plan proposed in this pamphlet.

The Eclectic Medical Journal. Conducted by Jos. R. Buchanan. Cincinnati: W. M. Naudain.

This publication is one of more general interest than any other of its class with which we are acquainted.

Appleton's Mechanics' Magazine and Engineers' Journal. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

A scientific work of indisputable value.

Household Words. A weekly journal, conducted by Charles Dickens. New York: Angell, Engel, & Hewitt.

This welcome fireside visiter retains its first literary merit, with its pure and pleasing spirit.

Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution: New York: Harper & Brothers. No. 19.

A number of unusual attractions.

London Labor and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. Parts 10 and 11. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a descent to and a thorough examination of the lowest strata of London society; and is evidently an interesting and important work.

Sartain's Union Magazine. February, 1852.

This is an unusually large number—contains thirty-four original articles, and twenty-seven embellishments. Of the two principal engravings, the finest is a view of the Capitol at Washington, with the new extension. This number contains articles from two of our favorite writers, George S. Burleigh and Caroline Chesebro'. There is also a very interesting article on Kossuth and the Magyars, by William Dowe. Decidedly the most original and powerful poem in this number, is one by Henry B. Hirst, entitled "Death in Fever."

Democratic Review. January, 1852.

This is a capital number—good throughout. Cleverly written, strong, spirited, and withal amusing, is the leading article, "Eighteen-fifty-two and the Presidency;" next in interest is an article headed "The Usurper;" but finest of all is "Mazzini—Young Europe." This noble paper contains a sketch of the life of Italy's heroic leader, with extracts from his poems, letters, and proclamations. These are prophecies, aspirations, defiances, exultations, the passionate devotion of the hero, the divine hopes of the Christian, the exquisite dreams of poesy, the solemn fervor, the sublime endurance of martyrdom. All the widely-varied strains, all the sweet and majestic melodies of a great soul tremble about us as we read. Mazzini and Kossuth—brothers according to the spirit—twin genii of freedom—God save them for the work they are so wondrously endowed to perform.

In the article before us, very loving and pathetic mention is made by Mazzini, of his most devoted and heroic friends the brothers Bandiera—those youthful martyrs of freedom to whom Elizabeth Browning refers in those grand lines—

"the spot
Marked red forever, spite of rains and dews,
Where two fell riddled by the Austrian's shot—
The brothers Bandiera, who accuse
With one same mother, face and voice, (that what
They speak may be invincible,) the sins
Of earth's tormentors before God, the just,
Until the unconscious thunderbolt begins
To loosen in His grasp."

Can it be that the spirit, the faith, the daring, the devotion, the martyrdom of such as these will be lost to Italy—wasted upon the world? Shall the blood of their sacrificed lives cry alone to *God!* Shall not human hearts hear also the dread appeal, and respond in word and deed? We believe that the year before us will give answer to this tremendous question. G. G.

LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.

New York, *January* 30, 1852.

The steamer Prometheus, which sailed from Havana on the 25th, and San Juan on the 19th, arrived at eleven o'clock this morning, bringing 355 passengers, $63,000 in gold dust, on freight, and $800,000 in the hands of the passengers. She brings San Francisco papers to the 2d inst., being seventeen days later than by the last arrival.

The Prometheus arrived at San Juan on the 15th, and found there the United States steamer Saranac and the sloop Albany; also, the English steam frigate Arrogant, the sloop of war Calypso, and the brig Express.

The Arrogant has been despatched by the British Admiral to the West India station, with assurances to Commodore Parker, that the British Government entirely disavowed and condemned the acts of the British Consul and the Captain of the Express, in the exercise of any authority whatever in connection with the Mosquito Government, or interfering in any way with the foreign commerce of San Juan, and that the conduct of the latter in detaining the Prometheus, and firing a shot across her, was unauthorized and heartily condemned. The most friendly feelings existed between the officers of the ships of both countries.

California Affairs.—A meeting of a portion of the Legislature was held at San Francisco on the last day of December, on the subject of the seat of Government. A letter was received from the Attorney General, expressing the opinion that Vallejo is the seat of Government, as established by law. A resolution was offered by Mr. Parish, and adopted by a large majority, that the delegates elect then present should assemble at Vallejo on the first Monday of January.

A land slide occurred at San Francisco, on December 27th, near Cluk's point, by which two warehouses of iron, just built by Mr. Griffin, used by Government for bonded goods, were entirely destroyed. Three thousand tons of bonded goods were stored in them, much of which was ruined.

Political affairs in California are very unsettled. The *San Francisco Herald* says it should not be surprised to hear of two Legislatures and two sets of Municipal officers, and two Democratic parties.

All accounts from the mines are decidedly most favorable. Heavy rains have been experienced, which were much needed at the mines.

Three shocks of an earthquake had been felt at San Francisco on the 27th of December.

There has been a great freshet in the Yuba river, which rose 14 feet in 24 hours. Some damage was done and several lives lost.

From Oregon.—We have advices from Oregon to the 23d of December. The Legislature was still divided as to the seat of Government, and members were holding separate sessions at Salem and Oregon city. The judges were divided on the subject.

For the National Era.

LETTERS FROM THE CAPITAL.

Washington, *January* 29, 1852.

Two weeks I have let pass unchronicled for your amusement or edification, not because of forgetfulness, surely, but from the consciousness of having little to say which could interest you. Like the worthy Macawber, I have been waiting for something note-worthy to "turn up," and like that son of hope, that great embodiment of the good-time-coming faith, I have been doomed to repeated disappointment. After Kossuth had abdicated his pedestal here, what oratorical divinity could fill the vacant niche? After his impassioned, poetic, persuasive, and overmastering eloquence what mere political speeches—meaning no disparagement of our home manufactures—can rouse one to a pitch of positive enthusiasm? Yet we have listened to some rather remarkable efforts lately. Mr. Allen, of Massachusetts, spoke on the Mexican Indemnity Bill, bearing hard on the Secretary of State. He was replied to in a speech of considerable length and much ability by Mr. Davis, of the same State, who made a merciless attack on the Free-Soilers, and who, in his turn, was put *hors de combat* by Mr. Rantoul, in one of the most able and effective speeches of the session. As a debater, Mr. Rantoul takes at once a leading position in the House. In person, he is one of the most prepossessing men on the floor—slight, but not small—gentlemanly and dignified in his bearing, with a calm, pleasant face, a well-balanced head, and dark, clear, serious eyes.

On that day he turned the tables on his antagonist, by proving him to have been a few years ago one of the proscribed and socially-outlawed class—a political Pariah, an incendiary, a fanatic, an *Abolitionist!*

It seems that of late years the honorable gentleman has ignored his connection with a principle so unpopular as that of universal freedom, trusting, perchance, that his early imprudence would be hushed up among his friends—has been passing himself off as quite free and unencumbered, like a certain unfortunate man who, away from home, figured and flirted as a gay Lothario, till he was suddenly brought up standing by the blunt question—"*Are you married?*" when he replied, stammering, "Moderately, sir; moderately."

It is not certain that Mr. Davis would acknowledge that he had even been moderately married to Anti-Slavery, were he not confronted with the children of that youthful union—the pledges of his first love, in the shape of certain forgotten resolutions.

It is well that both the discarded principle and its neglected offspring have fallen into the careful, protecting hands of those who will not fail occasionally to remind this forgetful statesman of his marital ties and parental obligations.

Mr. Giddings has spoken on intervention very forcibly, as he is wont to speak on any subject connected with human freedom. He is ever listened to with attention by all parties in the House.

Mr. Sumner's late speech in the Senate will add essentially to his reputation and popularity, especially in the West. He spoke, as you have seen, in favor of a grant of land to Iowa for the construction of a railroad. The main part of the speech was practical and statistical—a formidable array of figures; but after followed a very transfiguration of the subject, wherein striking figures of rhetoric displayed the rare scholarship and poetic taste of the orator. He quoted Tibullus on *longas vias*, and set him aside as a conservative of the old school. He treated us to fanciful images, which were as pleasant a surprise on so dry and hard a subject as flowers found blooming on a railroad track. He closed with the cheering assertion that the golden age is before, not behind us. This is one of God's truths, and must be received in its fulness into every soul that hopes and labors for the world. This gazing down into the darkening past for guiding light is like watching to see the sun rise from the place where he set. May we not hope that the prophetic radiance shall at last penetrate even to the shadowy by-paths of our benighted statesmen—that at last, rich in the consciousness of their coming possessions, they will disdain to borrow from the by-gone golden age anything more considerable than a little Greek and Latin with which to embroider their speeches.

Mr. McRae of Mississippi commenced speaking on Thursday on Foote's resolution; he will conclude on Monday. Mr. McRae in personal appearance is the opposite of his austere and forbidding predecessor, Colonel Davis. He is small, and youthful-looking, with a decidedly good-humored countenance. He is a "fire-eater;" but his inflammatory regimen seems to have agreed with him better than with some of his friends. As a speaker, he is earnest and animated; rather too emphatic, though not so objectionable on that score as many of the orators of the South and West, who seem to think that "the course of true *oratory* never did run smooth," but rushes now with an up-bubble, now with a down plunge, through a rough channel continually.

This Senator also patronized the poets to a considerable extent. He actually adopted and wove into his speech some passages from Byron's "*Dream*," very ingeniously and very queerly. Oh immortal song! Oh immortal loves and sorrows! to what *odd* ends may ye come at last!

In social life, we have all the gayeties and small excitements incident to a fashionable season in Washington—levees, receptions, brilliant parties, assemblies, concerts, and the play.

Miss Catherine Hayes sung here twice to fine houses. She is, I think a very pretty woman, and a charming vocalist; but she did not strike me as having passion or pathos sufficient for a great artiste in Italian music, or ballad-singing.

The weather has been here, as elsewhere, a theme of universal interest this season. Such intensity of cold and such abundance of snow have only been felt and beheld before by that man of universal experience—that venerable chronicler—the oldest inhabitant. The sleighing has been very fine, and the natives have seemed to enjoy it with a sort of wondering delight.

A-propos of sleighing; I had an adventure a few days since, which deserves a brief noting down. Wishing to visit Annapolis, to see a young relative at the Naval Academy, I left Washington for that purpose on Monday morning, intending to return in the evening train. Neither myself nor the friend who accompanied me, knew anything of the route or distances. We confessed as much to the conductor, who in a protecting and patronizing manner counselled us to make ourselves easy, as he would not fail to inform us in person, when we had reached the junction. So we reposed in full security, and alas! our innocent confidence was most cruelly betrayed. At every stopping-place we waited, in child-like faith, for some general signal, or special intimation. At the junction, still unadvised, we kept our seats, utterly ignorant that it was the point from which our particular road branched off for the ancient city of Annapolis—"the only *finished* town in America." The conductor had forgotten us, and so we were carried on to the Relay House, within a few miles of Baltimore. Here we had the delectable prospect of remaining until five o'clock P. M., in a lonely public house, without books, or amusements of any kind. In this desperate dilemma, the host of the Relay House, a very pleasant and gentlemanly person, proposed to drive us to Annapolis in a sleigh. We joyfully assented to the plan, having an eye to the excitement and adventure which it promised. It was a wild undertaking, as the distance was between thirty and forty miles, and the day being warm, the sun and the snow were compromising into slush. But we set forth in a tiny basket-sleigh, our host standing before, driving two fine horses tandem. For the first few miles it was glorious; the mild clear air, the brilliant sunshine, the sparkling snow beneath us, the delicious blue of the sky above, the merry peal of the bells, the speed and dashing carriage of our horses, and, above all, a sense of adventure, not only fully consoled us for our late disappointment, but caused us to congratulate ourselves on our happy fortune.

But, alas, this jubilant state of feeling passed like the glory of the morning! First, our frail sleigh showed alarming symptoms of giving out—the willows pulled up on one side and crushed down on the other. But we were able to remedy this, with the aid of sundry straps and cords. Then we got into rough, almost unbroken roads. We lost our way several times. We were obliged to walk occasionally, to save ourselves from an overturn; we forded streams, we skirted precipices, we scaled bare hills, we grated through sandbanks, we splashed through slush; and the bad grew worse, and the worse more comically awful, till we drove into Annapolis, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. Our gallant driver had been a soldier in Mexico, but he said he had seldom passed a day of severer duty than this.

The country through which we passed on our ride was miserable in the extreme: the land evidently exhausted by slave labor; the houses widely apart, badly built, and the lands neglected.

As we left in the morning train for Washington, we were able to see but little of Annapolis. We visited the State House, where Washington resigned his commission, and the Naval Academy. This last is very beautifully situated upon the Bay, and, with its fine buildings and pleasant enclosures, is, if not the oldest lion, the chief attraction of Maryland's venerable capital. Grace Greenwood.

☞ We cannot decline the request of our friend, Major Tochman. A sense of justice to him, not a feeling of unkindness to Kossuth, constrains us to publish his communication. Had Kossuth been less absorbed in the high duties of his mission, we are sure that no such friend of Hungary as Madame Tochman has proved herself, would have had reason to complain of a want of fair consideration on his part. We cannot believe him capable of intentional injustice.

No two private individuals in this country have labored so earnestly, disinterestedly, and successfully, to promote the welfare of Hungarian exiles, as Major Tochman and his estimable wife.—*Ed. Era.*

GOVERNOR KOSSUTH AND MAJOR TOCHMAN.

Washington, D. C., *Jan.* 31, 1852.

Dear Sir: The sense of regard due to the generous American friends who extended attention and hospitality to M'lle Jagiello, now my wife, required of me the publication of the enclosed communication which lately passed between Governor Kossuth and myself. It was due also to my friend Governor Ujhazi, and some seventy other Hungarians referred to in that communication, as well as to the hurt feelings of my wife and my own.

Although I know of no public journal in this country more friendly than is yours to the cause which Governor Kossuth represents, I beg leave to hope that this will not prevent you from republishing the same communication—its object being solely to place before the public the facts as they are, from consideration of motives already stated.

The more I expect this favor of you, my wife having been before marriage a guest of your family also, and it being known to you from personal knowledge that the allegation of objections made by Governor Kossuth to receiving my wife cordially is correctly stated in the letter which I addressed to him on the 6th of January inst.

With great respect, I am, dear sir, your most obedient friend and servant, G. Tochman.

Dr. G. Bailey.

Washington, D. C., *Jan.* 6, 1852.

Governor: Apprehending that a former communication I addressed you may not have reached you yet, or may have been misunderstood, I beg leave to address this note.

The marked reserve in the reception of my wife (Mrs. Tochman) by the ladies of your family, on New Year's day, has been misconstrued in this community to her injury. I have been informed that this reserve was the result of your belief of certain statements which reached you at Kutahja, and have been repeated since your arrival here, that Mrs. Tochman, (then M'lle Jagiello,) on arriving in this country, had assumed the title of Hungarian heroine; that, as such, she accepted a public banquet in New York; that I, translating a speech said to have been made by her, spoke of her military exploits; that she exhibited herself in the military uniform of a Hungarian general, or officer, at public assemblies and theatres; and that she caused pictures to be taken, representing your likeness with her own.*

Allow me emphatically to deny each and all these representations, and to express my profound regret that they should have been made and credited. So far from representing herself as a Hungarian heroine, my wife, being a Pole, declined to be introduced as a Hungarian lady, which was insisted upon by Colonel Pragay, Major Fornet, and some other officers of Governor Ujhazi's suite; and she is certainly not responsible for the language of those conductors of the press, who, prompted by the feelings of respect and sympathy, styled her a heroine, because of the humble services which she rendered in the cause of Hungary, and which made her a homeless exile.

She never accepted a public banquet. She never made a speech on such an occasion. I never translated any such speech. On her arrival in this country, she accepted a hospitable invitation from Mr. Howard, owner of the Irving House, in New York, who on that occasion gave her a dinner, to which his friends were invited. I was then here in Washington, but deny positively that she made any such speech.

She never dressed or exhibited herself in any military uniform. She has, it is true, a Polish Cracovian costume, (called Krakuska,) which she wore in Cracow in 1846, on the occasion referred to in the enclosed letter.† She, however, never wore it in this country; had she done so, she would never have been admitted into the circle of society in which she moves here. She has not brought her Hungarian uniform to this country, nor has she ever gone to public balls or theatres, except in company with Governor Ujhazi and his family, or the latter and some officers of Governor Ujhazi's suite.

I deny, finally, that Mrs. Tochman, before or after her marriage, has ever caused such pictures to be made as referred to. If such have been made and circulated, she and I know nothing of them, and cannot be responsible for them.

To counteract the injurious impressions produced by the reserve with which my wife was received, will you be kind enough to reply to the following questions:

Was that reserve in any way dictated, also, by a reference to the calumnious charges against the reputation of Madame Tochman circulated lately in this country, and which are about to undergo a judicial investigation?

Am I not right in regarding Governor Ujhazi as your friend, and as an honorable and upright gentleman, incapable of giving his sanction to any imposition?

With great respect, I have the honor to remain your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G. Tochman.

To his Excellency Louis Kossuth.

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[*] I state these allegations in the language of the friend referred to in a subjoined communication, who communicated them to me as they were made to him, in his interview with Mr. and Mrs. Pulski, and Governor Kossuth. He authorizes me to say that they are correctly stated, and will give out his name if it shall be required.

G. TOCHMAN.

[†] Washington, D. C., December 24, 1849.

Respected Lady-Citizen: When the public journals announced that Mademoiselle Appollonia Jagiello was coming to this country, this name, full of national recollections, foretold what we read, now to be approved by yourself, in the institute of young ladies in Bruklen. [This relates to the events of 1846, at Cracow.] If every Pole should hasten to pay you welcome and admiration for your sacrifices, I ought to do so more than any other, being, as I am, the only wreck thrown on this far-off land, after the unfortunate issue of our revolution of 1846. Were it not that it is impossible for me to leave here five children and wife, unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, and were I not by official duties almost fixed to this place, I would have already, personally, tendered welcome to the heroine of freedom—the only living witness here of the events which occurred in Cracow in 1846, and which here are entirely unknown, or, which is worse, are misrepresented. These events, by virtue of the dictatorship with which, in the last days of February, I was invested, became a part of my being and of my body. No person, then, in the United States, can welcome you more cordially and with greater enthusiasm than I and my family. You are to us a living word from the land of oppression and mourning; you are a foreteller of a better future; you are evidence of the watchfulness of Providence.

Exile, unknown in this far-off land, I cannot offer you those advantages which the wealthy Americans will bestow upon you during the first moments of enthusiasm, but when these will pass away, you may need advice or friendly services; I offer them to you sincerely and cheerfully. Before you need them, I and my family will await with anxiety the time of your arrival at Washington, when you will allow us the pleasure of taking away at least one tear—of making us happy at least for a moment. Now, we send you heartfelt and brotherly welcome. JOHN TYSSOWSKI.

Washington, *January* 11, 1852.

Governor Kossuth (my chief) directed me to express to Mr. G. Tochman his surprise, that amongst his occupations of public interest he has to answer a letter of Mr. Tochman about a supposed reserve in the reception of Mrs. Tochman by the ladies of the Governor's family on New Year's day.

The Governor having not the honor to know Mrs. Tochman, nor having to watch or control the ladies of his family about a New Year's day's reception, would have of course passed in silence the letter of Mr. Tochman, had he not found in that letter suggested that the supposed reserve of that reception is imagined possibly to produce some injurious impression, by reference to certain charges against the reputation of Madame Tochman circulated lately in this country, as Mr. Tochman is pleased in his letter to remark.

Now, in that respect, the Governor feels very anxious to contribute so much as he can to counterbalance any such injurious impression; though, should indeed such an impression exist, he could not forbear to regard it as very illogical, because Madame Tochman, being unacquainted with Madame Kossuth, could not of course expect to be received otherwise than with that ordinary civility with which, on a reception day, hundreds, nay, thousands, of unknown persons are and must be received—that civility having nothing common either with familiarity, that privilege of more intimate relations, or with reserve, as Mr. Tochman terms it.

It is therefore out of that regard which a gentleman likes to entertain towards ladies, that his Excellency desires Madame Tochman to be tranquillized about the matter; that, as neither his Excellency nor the ladies of his family have ever been, nor would allow themselves to be, troubled with idle gossips, they have to this very moment not the least knowledge of the circulation of whatever charges against the reputation of Madame Tochman; so of course none of them could or can have any intention to give credit to a thing which they not even know to exist.

As to your inquiry if you are right in regarding Mr. Ujhazi as a friend of his Excellency the Governor of Hungary, and as an honorable and upright gentleman, the Governor takes great pleasure to assure you that in that respect you are entirely right. The Governor considers and esteems Mr. Ujhazi as his oldest and one of his truest friends, and he can pledge his word that there can be no man of a more honorable and upright character than Mr. Ujhazi is.

Governor Kossuth, besides, ordered me to express to you, sir, sincere acknowledgment about the kind interest and operative sympathy which he understands you have consistently proved towards his unfortunate countrymen in exile, whom the change of late brought to the shores of the United States; and he would be indeed highly gratified, should he, consistently with his position, meet any opportunity to prove to you his sincere gratitude for this.

With respect and due consideration,

P. Nagy,

Secretary to Gov. Kossuth.

To Mr. G. Tochman.

Washington, D. C., *January* 15, 1852.

Governor: Your answer of the 11th inst., addressed to me through your Secretary, Mr. P. Nagy, reached me this morning.

I cannot refrain from expressing great surprise at the tone of your communication. Under ordinary circumstances, the manner in which Mrs. Tochman was received by Madame Kossuth and the ladies of your suite would have occasioned no remark from me; but I submit that the case of Mrs. Tochman stands upon its own merits, and is not to be determined by the ordinary rules of etiquette.

When your agent or delegate, Count Teleki, had succeeded in allaying the hostile feelings of the Poles towards Hungarians, engendered by the active aid rendered by Hungary to Austria in the wars that resulted in the dismemberment of Poland, thousands of my countrymen, following Generals Bem and Dembinski, hastened to assist your country in the hour of its peril. My wife, then M'lle Jagiello, who, with other daughters of Poland, as I informed you in a former letter, was engaged in facilitating the transportation of men to your camps, being detected in that work, fled to Hungary. Seventy of your countrymen, now in this country, knew and heard of her there. Some had seen her braving danger in the camp: others in the hospital at Komorn, attending to the sick and wounded. She came to the United States under the protection of Gov. Ujhazi, as a member of his family, who introduced her as a political exile, and was gratified at the generous attention paid to her by the American people.

"Mr. Ujhazi," as you state in your note, is your "oldest and one of your truest friends." And you pledge "your word that there can be no man of a more honorable and upright character." Would he have adopted as a member of his family, and introduced as a political exile, one unworthy of cordial reception by Gov. Kossuth?

Besides, we have in our possession a letter, dated September 6, 1851, addressed to us by Captains Joseph Brick, Charles Lichtenstein, and Carl Bukwitz, a deputation from those one hundred and twenty-eight Hungarian exiles who arrived in this country last summer from Shumla, and are now at Chicago, intending in the spring to proceed to New Buda, Iowa. In this letter, the deputation informed us that at Kutahja you directed Capt. Brick, their representative, to M'lle Jagiello and myself for counsel as to the best means of reaching New Buda. We communicated the letter to President Fillmore and Mr. Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury, and through their influence a donation of $1,700 was obtained from Mr. Corcoran of this city, for the benefit of those exiles. We next obtained for eighty-one of them a free passage, from the Erie Railroad Company, from New York to Chicago. And letters of recommendation were sent by Mr. Corwin and other friends to the Collector and Mayor of St. Louis, requesting them to increase the fund and facilitate the transportation to the colony of those unfortunate exiles. Supposing that you might be gratified to know that your advice had been attended to, and your countrymen cared for, a copy of the letter of those delegates, and of all the other correspondence relating to the subject, was forwarded to you at Southampton.

These circumstances authorized me to expect for my wife something more than the unmeaning civility shown to hundreds of strangers who had taken no part in the cause of Hungary.

Connecting the fact of reserve manifested towards Madame Tochman with the fact that I had not been able, from the time of your arrival in Washington, to obtain access to you, though, as is well known to the American People, I had labored earnestly to promote the interests of the Hungarian cause and exiles among us, I was naturally led to infer unfriendliness or misunderstanding on your part. Hence I addressed you a letter, in which, after stating briefly the services rendered to the Hungarian cause by my wife here and in Hungary, I submitted the following inquiries:

1st. Do you consider that Governor Ujhazi and his party imposed upon the American People by introducing my wife as a lady patriot, worthy of that attention which, in his and their presence, the American friends extended to her?

2d. Do you believe that sixty-seven Magyars, who signed the above-referred-to appeal to the American People, defending the honor of my wife, have falsely given the testimony which that appeal contains?*

3d. Is it your opinion that Lieutenant William Michael, Captain Freger, and those other Hungarian officers who testified under oath to the character and high station which my wife occupied in Hungary, committed, by doing so, a perjury; or do you consider their testimony worthy of credit?†

In that letter, I stated to you that all the documents referred to in it would be submitted to your inspection, should you desire to see them. No answer was returned—no notice taken of the letter. Meantime, the manner in which we had been treated was appealed to by our enemies in confirmation of certain infamous calumnies circulated in this community against my wife, by those who make it their business to discredit exiles for freedom's sake, or seek to elevate themselves by defaming meritorious persons.

At my request, a friend undertook to bring the subject directly to your notice. Being so fortunate as to obtain an interview first with Mr. and Mrs. Pulski, and then with yourself, he learned that the reasons for the treatment my wife had experienced were those *stated in my letter of the 6th instant*, which drew from you an answer so different in tone from what I had a right to expect. Those reasons seemed to me peurile or frivolous, and at least were founded on newspaper statements and allegations, which in that letter I pronounced false in whole and in part.

Having done this, having caused to be placed in your hands the letter from Mr. Ujhazi, which you read,* and having placed, subject to your call, the documents necessary to prove my wife an exile for services rendered to Hungary, I supposed that you would at least afford me the means of refuting the injurious inference drawn from the manner in which she had been received, without further exhibition of your indifference to her feelings and services.

Your statement is, of course, a refutation of this inference; but those who take the trouble to read this correspondence will wonder—in view of the ample testimony submitted to you respecting the services of Madame Tochman; in view of the statement of Captain Brick, that he was directed by you to apply for counsel to M'lle Jagiello and myself; and in view of the fact that she was introduced as an exile from Hungary, and is confided in by him whom you style your "oldest and one of your truest friends"—why you could so far forget what is due to justice as to class my wife with "the hundreds and thousands" of strangers, who, on a public reception day, can expect nothing but formal civility.

As to my services to the exiles of Hungary, they were not given for reward, and require no acknowledgment; they were carefully rendered from a sentiment of devotion to the cause of European liberty, with which I have not ceased deeply to sympathize from the hour when I myself was driven out an exile from the land of my birth, Poland.

With great respect, I remain your Excellency's obedient servant, G. Tochman.

To his Excellency Louis Kossuth.

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[*] This address was republished in the "Era" of October 9, 1851, from the New York "Tribune."

[†] Some of the depositions herein referred to were published in the "Telegraph" of October 7, 1851.

**Gov. Ujhazi's Letter.*

[Translated from the German by Professor Hebbi.]

New Buda, Decatur County, Iowa, Dec. 4, 1851.

My Dear Apollonia: I have to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you—the one immediately after your marriage, and the other dated the 13th of October. They caused me so much pleasure, as they informed me of the well-being of yourself and your husband. You complain of having received no answer. This seems to me on your part very natural, as your attachment to us causes you to wish to hear often from us; but, on the other hand, it is impossible for us always to return an immediate answer. I have already requested you not to measure our friendly sentiments towards you by the number of our letters, but by the constancy of the feelings which we always entertain for our friends, and of which you have already had opportunity of convincing you. But you entertain a wrong opinion of our present situation in supposing that we possess a writing-desk, while we have but one table for all necessary purposes, and consequently that we but at intervals occupy it with our writing materials. Besides, since the loss of my beloved wife, our souls have lost their energy, and we are without progressing. Our thoughts are occupied with the sorrow we feel, and neither the present nor the future can attract our attention. I have also no longer a secretary, because Clara must now take upon her shoulders the entire care of the house; and, for my own part, I must employ the whole days in rural pursuits, and my old eyes deny me their service when I attempt to write at candle-light. Such is now my bad situation.

Your wish had been to get up a subscription, in order to buy a house in Washington for Kossuth before his arrival, but you have been prevented from attempting at realizing this wish, in consequence of the delay of my answer, and of expressing opinion. I am sorry for this. It would, however, have been difficult for me to say whether the execution of your intention would have been acceptable to him; and for my part, I would rather see him not taking his residence in any city, but resolving to come and live with us, if our destiny be to remain in America. Still nothing is lost for him, as a subscription for aiding him with large sums of money is now opened. With the sums thus collected he can establish himself according to his own pleasure. I hope that he has now arrived at New York, and that he will soon be in Washington.

In regard to the letters of thanks to Messrs. Stuart and Corwin, of which you speak, I have informed your esteemed husband that I have already transmitted the expressions of my gratitude to President Fillmore and Secretary Stuart for the orders they have issued, prohibiting the public sale of the lands which we occupy. But these letters must not have arrived when you wrote yours to me. To the Secretary Corwin do we also owe much gratitude for the aid which was through his influence effected to the 128 of our countrymen. But Kossuth is now arrived, and will, in more energetic language, express our thanks, than I am able to do in writing. Of the 128 persons, eleven came here, and intend to spend the winter in the midst of ourselves, in the expectation that the others will hereafter arrive. I have already written to Kossuth that he shall exercise his powerful influence to prevent those who now remain in Chicago from separating from each other, in order that, in the spring, according to the intention of the aid offered by Mr. Corcoran, they might be forwarded to the colony.

What shall I say in respect to De Ahna? It is unfortunate that a man, led by his passions, is so apt to pursue a wrong way. But already, during the time of my emigration, had I opportunity enough of gathering the most deplorable knowledge of human nature. Never before had I experienced such unscrupulousness as that which the emigration brought forth. It causes me much remorse that you and your gallant husband have become the aim of so much meanness. Justice remains, however, on the side of the good—still who can suppress the feelings produced by the inflicted injuries?

I must now bid you farewell, because, were I to write more, then I would be compelled to communicate to you my sorrows and my grief, as well as the deplorable state of my mind. All the members of my family give their best wishes to you, and I will finish this letter by wishing you to be more happy than I am myself. Your sincere friend,

L. UJHAZI.

To Madame Apollonia Tochman.

MARRIAGE.

Married in Orange, Massachusetts, January 29th, by the Rev. Mr. Hatch, Rev. William D. Hitchcock, of Clinton, Massachusetts, to Miss Sarah A. Kilburn, of Orange.

WASHINGTON COUNTY, OHIO.

Watertown, *January* 10, 1852.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Sir: The following is a copy of a petition in circulation in this county, which is getting quite a number of signers. What will our *servants* in Congress say, when they see the light in which *their work* is viewed? If you publish the *form*, there will be signers in other places; for Whigs, Democrats, and Free-Soilers, have signed it here. Respectfully yours,

W. L. McCowan.

To the Honorable Members of Congress, Senate and House of Representatives:

The *free born* citizens of the State of Ohio, Washington county, believing the *Fugitive Slave Law*, passed by the Congress of last winter, to be unconstitutional, impolitic, and oppressive; a flagrant violation of the *rights of man*; an abrogation of the *higher law*, which requires obedience to God and *good faith to our fellow man*; a blight, a curse, a stain, a mildew upon our national character; a bold stroke at the temple of freedom, and a *corroding* canker *at* the *root* and *heart* of the tree of liberty: We, your petitioners, would ask, in the *name* of our common country, most sincerely and respectfully, the early and *unconditional* repeal of said law.

I believe, this day, Thomas H. Benton has more friends amongst the people than any other one man in the United States. His name is a host; the Democrats throughout the West would go for him. Popular as Douglas is, Benton would beat him in Illinois. All that can be urged against him, is his repulsive manners. Politicians cannot use him, and hence do not like him, and are combined to break him down. He is right on the currency, right on the tariff, and so near right on the subject of slavery that he would never use the Government to oppress humanity.

One Who Knows Col. Benton.

Prayer of one of the Colored Traitors. A correspondent of the Boston *Liberator* says that Castner Hanway's wife used to visit the Christiana prisoners at Moyamensing every day. On one occasion, she told us, as she was passing along the passage, she overheard one of the colored prisoners engaged in prayer. He supposed himself alone, save the presence of the Infinite One. He prayed for Castner, for his wife, and for all the suffering prisoners by name, then, pausing, he burst forth as follows: "O, Lord God Almighty! I pray thee to take Kline, and shake him! Hold him over the gulf of hell, but don't drop him in! Shake him, O Lord, shake him well!"

The Colored Voters in New York.—The colored population of New York city held a meeting on Monday evening, and after listening to the reading of an address in opposition to colonization, proceeded to other business, when G. T. Downing read a resolution calling upon the colored voters—of whom he said there were five thousand in the State—to withdraw their support from the Whig party, to which it had been given for years past. In connection with this resolution, he presented the following two, which were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That in view of the increasing importance of the approaching Presidential election, it behooves us to make early and effectual efforts to bring to the polls the 5,000 colored voters of the State.

"*Resolved*, That it is to be hoped that some one may be put in nomination who will be a friend to progress and freedom."

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

Friday, January 30.

The private calendar was postponed till one o'clock.

The Chair laid before the Senate the report of the Treasurer of the United States, with his accounts with the Post Office Department.

Mr. Pratt presented the petition of Henry Mankin and others, praying that the Postmaster General be authorized to contract with them for carrying the United States mails in a line of steamers between Baltimore and Rio Janeiro, and intermediate points.

A resolution, submitted by Mr. Bradbury, directing an inquiry into the expediency of providing by law for the prevention of abuses in the conveyance of passengers by steamboats from the Atlantic ports to those of California, was adopted.

The Mexican indemnity bill was reported by Mr. Hunter.

The bill for the relief of the lately pardoned Cuban invaders was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The bill changing the term and place of holding the United States Courts in the State of Delaware, was taken up, and ordered to be engrossed.

The Senate then took up the private calendar, and the following bills were ordered to be engrossed.

Bill for the relief of Mary W. Thompson; bill for the relief of John T. Sullivan; bill for the relief of Joseph Gideon; bill for the relief of John O. Means; bill for the relief of George Poindexter; bill for the relief of William Miller; bill for the relief of Ezra Williams.

And then the Senate adjourned until Monday.

Monday, February 2.

Mr. Berrien was excused from serving on the select committee on the Florida Contested Election, in consequence of intended absence from the city.

Mr. Miller presented petitions in favor of a modification of the tariff of 1846, in regard to the duty on raw silk.

Mr. Stockton presented the joint resolutions of the Legislature of New Jersey against intervention. He addressed the Senate in favor of the intervention, against any declaration that the United States would never interfere in behalf of struggling liberty.

Mr. Hamlin presented the joint resolutions of the Legislature of Maine in favor of intervention.

Mr. Douglas reported the bill for the relief of the lately pardoned Americans in Spain, and the bill was passed.

The Mexican Indemnity Bill was also taken up and passed.

Mr. Shields reported a bill for the relief of St. John's church, in this city.

After other reports,

The resolution declaring the Compromise a settlement of the slave question was taken up, and Mr. McRae concluded the speech commenced by him on Thursday last.

After a few remarks in reply from Mr. Badger, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, January 30.

One hour and a half spent in considering a proposition to authorize the Committee on Naval Affairs to employ a clerk, and finally the subject was referred to the Committee on Accounts, with instructions to inquire into matters in connection with the clerical duties of the House.

Mr. Robinson, from the Committee on Roads and Canals, reported a bill to set apart and sell to A. Whitney, of New York, a portion of the public lands, to enable him to construct a railroad from Lake Michigan or the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Stanton, of Kentucky, from the Committee on the Public Buildings and Grounds, reported a bill authorizing the Secretary of War to purchase of William H. Winder the building now in the occupancy of the Government, situated on the corner of F and Seventeenth streets, in the city of Washington: which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

A large number of other reports were made, and the House adjourned until Monday.

Monday, February 2.

A large number of resolutions were introduced and adopted. From among them the following are selected, viz:

On motion of Mr. Daniel, it was resolved that the Committee on Public Buildings be instructed to ascertain and report to the House what buildings or parts of buildings in the District of Columbia, other than those belonging to the United States, have been engaged by the Government, between January 1, 1840, and February 1, 1852, and the amount paid for rent, or to be paid, in every instance, and their security as depositories of the public records; and that the said Committee inquire into the expediency of furnishing or erecting such additional buildings as may be deemed necessary; and that they may report by bill or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. Fowler, a resolution was adopted, calling on the President for information relative to claims allowed from March 4, 1845, to March 4, 1849, and which had been disallowed or suspended, and the sums paid, and the names of the persons who have acted as agents or solicitors, and, if practicable, the amount of money paid to each.

Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee, offered a joint resolution, proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States, (which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:) first, the election of President and Vice President of the United States by the people directly; next, limiting the term of the Judiciary to twelve years; and, lastly, providing for the election of United States Senators by the people, instead of by the State Legislatures.

Mr. Doty introduced a bill to establish a Public Printing Office, and providing for the employment of a Superintendent of Public Printing; which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The House, after acting upon other resolutions, adjourned.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

The Senate to-day passed a bill to regulate punishments in the navy. Other matters were under consideration, among which was the bill making bounty land warrants assignable.

In the House, the bill making land warrants assignable was under consideration in Committee of the Whole. Various speeches were made in relation to general politics.

The speech of Mr. Allen is published from a report which received not the benefit of a full review by him, and contains some inaccuracies. It is in substance a fair report.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL APPARATUS.

MANUFACTURED by *C. B. WARRING*, for six years Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy at College Hill, Poughkeepsie. He will be happy to open a correspondence with those wishing to purchase such articles or chemicals, or who may have laboratories to arrange. Apparatus securely packed and sent to any part of the United States, at rates lower than the catalogue prices of any house in New York. Terms cash.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Jan 26, 1852. Feb. 5.

1,000 AGENTS WANTED.

HEADLEY'S LIFE OF KOSSUTH.

JUST PUBLISHED,

THE LIFE OF LOUIS KOSSUTH, GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

WITH notices of the Distinguished Men and Scenes of the Hungarian Revolution. To which is added an appendix containing Kossuth's Address to the People of the United States; and the most important of the addresses, letters, and speeches, of the Great Magyar Chief. By P. C. Headley, author of "Life of the Empress Josephine," "Life of Lafayette," &c., with an Introduction by Horace Greeley. In one elegant 12mo. volume of 461 pp., with an accurate steel Portrait. Price $1 25.

☞ The Publishers confidently believe that from the abundant materials in the possession of the author, together with his well-known ability, that his Biography of the Great Hungarian Chief will not only be complete in itself, but well worthy to be ranked with the other popular productions of his pen.

N. B.—Agents wanted in every county in the United States, (not already occupied,) to sell the above popular work. It is believed that almost every *reading* family will be glad of the opportunity of possessing the Life and Speeches of the noble Hungarian. Such is the present indication from the unparalleled sale of the work. Address

DERBY & MILLER,

Feb. 5. Publishers of Popular Books, Auburn, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEBATE ON THE MEXICAN INDEMNITY BILL.

MESSRS. ALLEN, DAVIS, AND RANTOUL—MASSACHUSETTS POLITICS.

Friday, January 23, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and the Mexican Indemnity Bill being under consideration, Mr. ALLEN, of Massachusetts, urged the expediency of paying the indemnity directly, and then proceeded:

But, sir, I waive the further consideration of the expediency of paying the indemnity directly, and without the intervention of brokers, to the agents of Mexico at Washington. Let gentlemen dismiss that argument, if they please, from their minds. And I have still very grave objections against the course pursued in this business by the Secretary of State.

In the first place, I assert that no officer of the Government had any right to negotiate definitively for the payment of the money two years, or one year, in advance of an appropriation of Congress therefor.

In the second place, if the right of any Executive officer to make such a negotiation, at such time, were admitted, it would be the duty of that officer, for the protection of the rights of the country, as well as to avoid favoritism in the disposition of an immensely profitable contract, to throw it open to fair competition among those who are equally competent to the business, and responsible for any failure in its performance.

And, in the third place, I deny entirely the right of the Secretary of State to negotiate with the brokers at all for the payment of the Mexican indemnity. It was an assumption of duties which belong to another officer of the Government.

Now, sir, in briefly presenting my views, as I shall do, I ask this Committee to look at the facts which are before them, and which will be before them, to separate this matter from considerations which do not belong to it, and to dispose of it, as I doubt not they will desire to do, in the exercise of judgments unbiased by prejudice. It is not an unusual thing here for skilful and dexterous men, by influences in the House, and more especially out of the House, to connect the subject-matter under consideration here with topics entirely foreign to that which properly invites the attention of this body, and thereby diverting its regard from the true issues which are submitted to it.

The question simply is, has a proper and suitable arrangement been made with the Republic of Mexico, and in reference to the payment of this indemnity? I cast from my mind all other considerations whatever. I recur not to other subjects. But I wish to look to the facts which lie before me, and which belong to the case, and all I ask of the Committee is, that they will do the same, and come to such conclusions as those facts shall justify. Let me say, also, that during the debate which has already taken place upon this question, I think we have been led away from the true issue which is before us. There has been a representation or memorial presented for the consideration of the House by the Messrs. Green, in which they make complaint that they had no opportunity of competing for this contract, and the benefits resulting from it. Well, if such is the fact—if these gentlemen were desirous of negotiating with the Government, and could furnish to the Government ample security for its indemnity against loss, but had no opportunity of offering their proposals, then I do not see but that their complaint is a just one. Yet I do ask that the issue may not be tried upon this question, whether the Messrs. Green have been treated fairly or improperly in this matter. The issue that has been raised between the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, on the one hand, and the Messrs. Green on the other, and the subjects which have been introduced by the chairman of that committee in connection with the memorial of those gentlemen, have engrossed, as the Committee are aware, almost the whole time during which this discussion has been in progress.

I urge, therefore, upon the consideration of this Committee, that they do not permit the various questions which have arisen between the Messrs. Green and the chairman of the Foreign Relations to divert their attention from the true question before them. This matter, which relates to the grievances of the Messrs. Green, may be a proper one for the consideration of the House; but beyond that and above it, and the subject which should engross the attention of the House almost to its exclusion, is the great question whether the course of any Department of the Government has been correct and proper in the whole disposition of the business which related to the Mexican treaty. Set aside, therefore, all consideration of the question as it respects fairness or unfairness towards the Messrs. Green. With that, certainly, I have nothing to do. They have no concern with my purposes or my motives. They prompted not the course which I have pursued, neither could they have prevented or interfered with that which I saw fit to pursue. Let me, therefore, not prejudice their merits before this House; and on the other hand, let not the case which they present be so exclusively regarded by this House, or receive such prominence in the consideration of this question, that other matters, which are far more important, shall be in danger of being lost sight of and forgotten.

In respect to the first position which I have taken, that no officer of this Government had a right to make a definitive negotiation in advance of the appropriation of Congress, I should like to see the first member of this Committee who disputes the correctness of that proposition. I have heard no one in his place in this House deny, for a moment, its correctness. There seems to be an implied assent to the proposition on all sides of this question. If any member undertakes to say that it was proper to make a definitive negotiation for the payment of money, with bankers and brokers, nearly two years in advance of the appropriation of Congress, I should be very glad that he should rise in his place and say so at this time. If we are all agreed on that matter, if no one undertakes to dispute the proposition, then I will not undertake to enforce it by any argument before this intelligent Committee. I will not undertake to prove to the Committee that this House holds the purse-strings of the nation, and that no matter what treaty may have been negotiated several years since, no matter what sum of money it may have been agreed by that treaty should be paid to a foreign Government, yet, until there shall be an appropriation by this House, no negotiation can be concluded with any party, for any consideration, by which that party shall obtain the guarantee of the Government that the funds of the United States shall be placed in the hands of such party, for any purpose connected with their disbursement. Many causes might have arisen, after the negotiation of that treaty, to supersede the payment altogether. War might have been renewed with Mexico, or in the lapse of two years new arrangements might have been made with that power. But it is not necessary to point out contingencies that might have arisen. It is enough to say that this House has control of the purse of the nation, and, until it loosens the strings, no man has a right, in advance of its action, to put his hands upon the public funds, or to transfer that right to another.

Then, sir, if I am correct in the general proposition, what follows? It follows that the Secretary of State has violated this wise and salutary principle. He has made a contract with the Barings and their associates for the disbursement of the public money, in flagrant disregard of it. And now, sir, who will dispute the correctness of the second proposition, viz: that if an officer of the Government had been authorized, in the discharge of his general duties, to negotiate with bankers and brokers, by the result of which, between three and four millions of the property of the United States should be placed in the hands of those bankers and brokers, in consideration of certain services to be performed by them, the negotiation should be so conducted as to throw open to competition, by responsible houses, the lucrative business of disbursing the public funds? Of the immense value of the contract with the Government for the payment of the Mexican indemnity, the facts presented afford us some knowledge. Its full benefits the brokers understand better than we do. And hence the eager struggle to obtain possession of the prize. I think no man who takes these matters into consideration will say that there ought not to have been fair competition. The contract ought not to have been made—in the entire ignorance by the public of the whole transaction—with the person who should be fortunate enough to obtain by some means knowledge of the opportunity of gain, and to come forward with the first proposition. Why, I believe, in purchasing the stores for your Army and Navy for the various stations and depots throughout the country, you do not buy a few barrels of beef or provisions of any kind, to be forwarded for your Army and Navy, without opening a fair competition to the whole country. You send your proposals through the public newspapers. Now, I do not say that the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of the Treasury, was bound to pursue that identical course rather than any other, and advertise this contract in the newspapers of the country; but I do aver, that having two years before him for the payment of the instalment then under consideration, it was his bounden duty to wait until the public in the principal cities, in the country, and abroad, should have been informed that the Government were disposed to negotiate in this matter; and to go further, if necessary, and by correspondence with those whose business it is to furnish the facilities which the Government requires, and to reap the benefits which the Government bestows, so that they should be informed, and the interests of the Government protected, by competition, rather than that the contract should be given, as a matter of favoritism, to the earliest applicant.

I believe the friends of the Secretary of State, and his supporters in this House, have in debate here admitted that the course which was pursued by the Secretary in this particular, in making his contract with the Barings and their associates, without affording an opportunity of competition to any other persons, was wrong in principle; and the only answer which has been given to objections which have been made to this proceeding is, that however much the Government may have lost thereby, it is too late to correct the error. Such was the argument of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Brooks.] While on one hand it has been said that it was too late to correct the error, on the other, I think there was some very faint denial that the arrangement with the Barings and their associates was definitive in its character. Upon this point it is necessary only to refer to the letter of Mr. Webster to Mr. Green, dated the 2d of September, 1850, in which he states that "he had made a definitive arrangement with Messrs. Baring, Brothers, & Co.," &c., and cannot, therefore, listen to any terms from any other quarter.

I now come, in passing hastily along, to my third proposition, which is, that the Secretary of State had no right whatever to interfere in this matter, under any circumstances. I have asserted that it was without precedent, and contrary to precedent. I do not know whether I correctly understood the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, [Mr. Bayly,] but I understood him to state that one instalment of the Mexican indemnity was negotiated with the brokers and bankers by the late Secretary of State, (Mr. Clayton.) I see that gentleman now in this Hall, and I desire to ask him whether I correctly understood him?

Mr. Bayly. The gentleman is mistaken. On the contrary, I stated that that instalment was negotiated by Mr. Letcher, our Minister in Mexico.

Mr. Allen. I now understand the gentleman to say that the Secretary of State had nothing to do with it. I am aware that he had not; but I will tell this Committee what he did. He negotiated with the *Mexican Minister* in relation to the terms of payment, and the time and place of payment; but when that negotiation came to an end, and arrangements were to be made with the brokers, Mr. Clayton at once gave up all connection with the business. He would have nothing to do with it. He had too much regard for his own reputation. He had too much regard to a sense of propriety to interfere in a matter so delicate, and one in reference to which there was so much room for misapprehension, to say the least. He would not interfere with the duties which properly belonged to another officer. Now, sir, whoever will inquire into the course of proceeding in this behalf adopted by the present Secretary of State—whoever will examine that course thoroughly and critically, and sift it to the bottom, will find that when he came into office, he did instantly and eagerly what the former Secretary of State (Mr. Clayton) had refused to do. He assumed upon himself the negotiation for the payment of the instalments of the Mexican indemnity at once—almost immediately. It was but a few days from the time he commenced his official course, that he instituted a negotiation with the bankers and brokers for the payment of a large sum of money, for which, perhaps, at some future day, Congress might make an appropriation. Now, I ask what authority the Secretary of State had for this? I ask why he disregards the precedents in the case?—why he assumed the duty of another officer? To learn what that duty is, we have but to look at the bill before us. What are its provisions? It simply makes an appropriation of so much money to be paid out of the Treasury in liquidating the debt due to Mexico. Now, sir, there is no legislator in the country; there is no man who has had anything to do with the affairs of his own commonwealth, or even with the affairs of his own county or township, who is not competent to decide this question—who does not know that when there is nothing to be done but to pay a certain sum of money out of the Treasury, it becomes the duty of the Treasurer to make that payment, and not the duty of any other officer.

It is doubtless the duty of the Secretary of State to negotiate treaties with foreign ministers. But when the negotiation is concluded, and nothing remains but to appropriate a sum of money out of the Treasury, I hold, and I believe it has always been held in the history of this Government, that the duties of the Secretary of State have been discharged, and that the payment of the money is a duty which belongs to another officer.

But I must hasten onward. I took occasion last year, in the course of the discussion upon this bill—though it came suddenly upon me—in the discharge of what I believed to be my duty, to charge upon the present Secretary of State unnecessary and improper interference in a transaction which did not devolve upon his office, and for which there is no evidence that he is peculiarly qualified to undertake. The Secretary of the Treasury, but not the Secretary of State, is selected for his skill in financial affairs. I further urged upon this House, that the relations which the present Secretary of State sustains to the capitalists and bankers are such as render it highly improper and unfit that he should take it upon himself, unnecessarily, to discharge the duties he assumed. Now, what were those relations? It had just come to my knowledge—and it seemed to me a proper matter for the knowledge of the House—that when the Secretary of State took upon himself the office which he now holds, he entered into a negotiation quite as remarkable, to say the least, as the negotiation which it appears he made with the Barings and their associates. It was a negotiation with men of character, class, and description, similar to that of Mr. Ward, of Boston, and Howland & Aspinwall, of New York; a negotiation by which, as an inducement for Mr. Webster to take the office which he now holds, a sum of money was to be furnished—$50,000—to support him in that office. Now, I do not say that Mr. Ward was a party in this negotiation, either directly or indirectly, nor do I say that he was in any way a contributor to that fund. Neither do I say that he was not directly or indirectly a contributor. I know the names of some of them. When the collector passed through certain streets in the city of Boston, calling upon the neighbors of that gentleman, and his associates in like condition with himself, for their respective contributions, I do not know what mark he may have found upon the door-posts of that gentleman, which induced him to pass his house, without calling upon him also for his contribution. Nor do I know that when the collection was taken up in the city of New York, among those who are familiarly called the upper-tendom there, that Messrs. Howland & Aspinwall were contributors also; but I am satisfied of this fact, and I offered at the time to prove to this House, by evidence then within the reach of my voice, that the associates of these men were among the persons who were contributors to this fund.

[Here a message was received from the President of the United States, by the hands of Millard P. Fillmore, his Private Secretary.]

Mr. Allen, (resuming.) Now, it is for this House to say, and for the country to say, whether these facts should be made known, or should not. *Mark the time when the contract was entered into with the Barings and their associates.* Mark the *time*, also, when the contract was entered into for the raising of the sum of $50,000 to support Mr. Webster in the office of Secretary of State, by the same description of men to whom they belong, if not by themselves also. When was this contract made with the Barings? On the 31st day of August, 1850, Mr. Green writes to Mr. Webster, informing him that such an arrangement had been made by him with the Government of Mexico, and that he was authorized to negotiate for the payment of this money. Two days after, the Secretary of State replies that he had already made "a definite arrangement *a few weeks ago* with Barings, Brothers, & Co., Howland & Aspinwall, and Corcoran & Riggs," for payment of this money. You will bear in mind that this letter from Green to Webster was written upon the 31st day of August, and the reply upon the 2d of September. If you will turn to that reply, found in the *Telegraph*, laid upon our tables, you will find the Secretary says a "definite arrangement" was completed some weeks before that period. Well, the Secretary had not then been in office six weeks. He took the office on the 22d of July, and the proposition of Mr. Green was made on the 31st of August; and he replies that "a few weeks ago" a definite arrangement had been made. When was *the other* definite arrangement made? At the time the Secretary took his office. Just before he accepted the office, the agreement was made as to the sum to be raised, and capitalists went on and raised the money. Now, if the contract was made with Barings and their associates some weeks before this proposition of Mr. Green to Mr. Webster, does it not follow irresistibly that the contract was going on with Mr. Ward and Howland & Aspinwall *at the very time* when the negotiation was going on for raising this sum of $50,000? Now, sir, these things are joined together by facts which belong to the immutable history of the past, and no man's ingenuity can put them asunder. And it is for gentlemen to say—and not you only whom I address, but it is for the country to say, whether a free Representative of a portion of the free people of this country ought, upon an occasion like this, to make a disclosure of these facts, or to withhold them? There was a denial in this House of the truth of the facts, but that denial was followed by an offer to prove them on the spot. The friends of the Secretary came forward and resisted to the utmost any investigation, upon the proffer of an investigation made in my behalf, and urged by me, and upon a proffer to prove the facts as I had advanced them. And through that influence, and through that force of artful appeals to prejudices which, I trust, have been weakened since the last Congress, the friends of the Secretary were able to prevent that disclosure, and to preclude an examination into the facts of the case at that period, when certainly there was ample time for full examination.

Sir, I hasten on. Although there was the denial I have spoken of, yet it was found to be unsafe, and the friends of the Secretary afterwards, at Boston and elsewhere, admitted the material facts in this case. It was admitted that the money was raised, and at the time it was alleged to have been raised. But false issues were presented through the papers. I have not seen fit to meet those issues or correct those misrepresentations. This is the fit time, and this House the proper place, to reinstate the true issue.

One newspaper friendly to the Secretary asserted that one Mr. Havens, of Boston, received the proposition from Mr. Webster to have this sum of money procured, and then Mr. Havens comes before the public in a letter, and says he did not receive such a proposition; and, to assure the public of the fact, he publishes a letter which he says he did in fact receive from Mr. Webster. It is the very remarkable epistle written just after the death of General Taylor, in which Mr. Webster says that no man who is not "rich or a bachelor" can afford to take the office of Secretary of State. He also informs Mr. Havens that the present is the time to be taken by the forelock, and concludes with recommending to that office a distinguished gentleman of Massachusetts, whom nobody else had thought of, and whose lamented physical infirmities had compelled him to resign the comparatively light labors of presiding officer over a literary institution. The letter thus made public furnished to discerning men satisfactory proof of that which it was supposed by Mr. Havens to conceal or refute. I did not introduce the name of that gentleman into the debate last year. His controversy, if he has any, is with other persons.

I will, in closing, advert to one other misrepresentation, by which the friends of the Secretary sought to palliate the transaction they could no longer deny. It is the assertion that the contributors to the Secretary's subsidy were men who had retired from public life and the concerns of business, and who were induced, by most disinterested considerations of regard, to tender a gratuitous acknowledgment of services rendered to the country. If such had been the nature of the transaction, a publication of the names of the generous donors would have furnished the readiest and most satisfactory evidence of the fact. But, sir, whenever the friends of the Secretary shall consent to an investigation of the subject before a committee of this House, it will be made to appear that this statement of the transaction is as unfounded as it is improbable. Having sought heretofore for a full development of the circumstances under which the Secretary entered upon his office, nothing remains for me to do but to evince my readiness to enter upon an investigation of the facts whenever the objections to the appointment of a committee for that purpose shall be withdrawn; and I pledge myself to this House to prove, whenever an opportunity shall be presented, all and more than all I have asserted.

Mr. Allen expressed a wish to continue.

[Cries "Let him go on!" "Let him go on!"]

Mr. Allen. Will the gentleman allow me a few moments?

Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts. Are these few moments to come out of my time?

The Chairman. They will.

Mr. Davis. Then I will not allow him the tenth part of a second.

Mr. DAVIS of Massachusetts, the successor of Mr. Ashmun, and elected on anti-slavery principles, replied to Mr. Allen in a speech, of which we present the synopsis furnished in the *Republic*:

He said that, as regards the general points relating to the payment of the indemnity, he had not the experience which other gentlemen possess. However, he thought that there could be but one prominent question, namely: whether this course of proceeding, in passing this appropriation and arranging and paying out this money through the Secretary of State, is in conformity with law, and whether there is objection as to a point of principle. He found that the Cabinet of General Taylor (free from any of the influences which have been suggested here) decided that this was a proper matter to be conducted by the Secretary of State; therefore Mr. Webster did no more than follow the course which they indicated before. There have been two committees, organized by Democratic Houses—men of experience and judgment, with no particular partiality and bias for Mr. Webster, he presumed—who have, on this abstract question, unanimously reported and taken views sustaining the Administration upon this point. This should go a great way in satisfying our own judgments.

His colleague had introduced no new matter, for he (Mr. D.) had examined the *Congressional Globe*, and discovered that everything that could be said against the Secretary of State and the Administration was urged during the last Congress; and there is a number of facts conclusively in Mr. Webster's favor which did not then appear.

Upon these very questions, with an opposition majority in the House, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight against thirty-six, the course of the Secretary of State was sustained. How idle, then, is it to state points which no man can maintain. If this was all in the matter now before them, he should hardly feel inclined to trouble the Committee. Certain complaints and intimations had been made. Who brought them here? What parties outside are making a lamentation and outcry? There has been much said about the suffering of Mexico, and strong sympathy has been expressed for her by the Messrs. Green, who make their appearance here, and not the party which suffers. So far from the Greens not making a complaint here, and being indignant, it would be a singular thing if they did not hate Mr. Webster. They have one hundred and seventy-five thousand reasons for hating him.

It is agreed all round that they had not capital to carry on the financial operations which they proposed; and these men expected, by the use of their wits, to realize the *paltry* sum of $175,000! As the case stands, Mexico makes no complaint, and the money is paid to her with rigid punctuality. If he had found Mr. Webster going into a contract with the Messrs. Green, he should have been disposed to mistrust him. Mexico is better off by the arrangement with the Barings, Howland & Aspinwall, and Corcoran & Riggs.

There was another point. But one gentleman in this debate had gone into an investigation of the private affairs of the Secretary of State. Might not his colleague be mistaken? Did it not occur to him that he was acting under the stimulus of personal hatred? The Greens and his colleagues, whose political associations were so far removed, in profession, the one side from the other, were now brought together in the same truckle-bed by this systematic attack. Up to 1848, and to the time his colleague left the Philadelphia Whig Convention, he [Mr. Allen] thought that Mr. Webster was the most proper person to be placed in the highest office in the gift of the People. And now, what had his colleague said that he did not express last year? Nothing new. It is well known that Mr. Webster is as indifferent to money as he is devoted to the common weal. His application to public affairs has left him no time to take care of himself. And the question is, whether the country should be deprived of his services, or his friends aid him? Burke, Pitt, or Canning, in the Old World, and Jefferson, Madison, or Monroe, in the New, would have been disqualified by poverty, had they not received assistance. His colleague had stated collateral issues, and not only said that donations were not only made to Mr. Webster, but for the reason of inducing him to accept the office of Secretary of State.

[Mr. Allen: "Yes."]

This, then, was his colleague's understanding. But his colleague had not thought fit to set himself right before the People in his own matters. Mr. Davis went on to speak of Mr. Allen's secret political movements in Massachusetts; and then said that his colleague was particularly sensitive on the subject of corruption. There was a party of corruption in his own State and under his own eye, and to the reformation of which his talent and force might be more profitably employed than by trumping up charges against Mr. Webster. Mr. D. then spoke of the shameless coalition between the Democrats and Free-Soilers of Massachusetts—so opposite in their professions of principles on national subjects, yet coalescing for the sake of the spoils. And these things were favored and encouraged by his colleague, who ought to put his mouth in the dust, and set about correcting the mischief which he has done to society. Other matters were alluded to in this connection; and, in conclusion, the honorable gentleman passed a glowing eulogy on Mr. Webster.

The next day, (Saturday,) Mr. RANTOUL obtained the floor, and after a few preliminary observations, said—

Sir, the imputation of corruption is made here upon two political parties, which the gentleman estimates to contain forty-three thousand in one party and twenty-eight thousand in the other—a majority, according to his own calculation, of the voters who take sufficient interest in political matters to present themselves at the polls. That is the charge, and it is to that that I address myself. And first, let me answer as to that portion of those voters with whom I am directly and politically identified, and have been for more than a score of years, through a series, scarcely paralleled, of hard-fought battles—I mean the Democratic party of Massachusetts. But before going into the details of this matter, let me make one general observation, and I shall appeal to the knowledge and consciousness of every man that hears me, whether I am justified in what I am about to say; and that is, that if there be any political party in any State in this Union, whose history places it above the suspicion of corruption, from its peculiar position, it is the indefatigable and indomitable Democracy of the State of Massachusetts; because there is no party in any State in the Union that has stood up against such odds, against such disadvantages, against such actual losses and sacrifices, as the Democratic party of Massachusetts, and every man in that party, has confronted and sustained for very many years past. Why, who are the Democrats of that State? The laboring men of the State, and some men of talent who are not laboring men, but who are not men of capital or property. And against whom are they contending? Against the whole aggregate mass of the capital of New England, concentrated in the eastern portion of the State of Massachusetts. That is the position of the two parties. Now, I ask, if there be corruption in the State of Massachusetts—and I do not deny that there is corruption, more or less, everywhere, in every State and nation under heaven—but if there be corruption in the State of Massachusetts, where is it? *Prima facie* the answer is a pretty plain one. The corruption is where the means of corruption exist. There are several hundreds of millions of capital piled up in and about the city of Boston. There is no other such aggregate of wealth in so few hands on the American continent; and if there be corruption there, it is that vast, unequalled mass of capital that purchases whatever is venal. This capital, like all other capital, is, by the instincts of its holders, adverse to Democratic principles. Conceive the effect of this on the position of political parties. The Democrats are mostly of the laboring classes. I do not say that there is bribery there; but I say that if there be, it is the rich that bribe the poor, and not the poor that bribe the rich. Upon that position, then, I start in this examination.

The Democratic party of Massachusetts consists of men who stand up against their own individual interests; and this every man may know that will pass through that State, and not shut his eyes to facts around him. Is there an operative in a factory there who does not know that his place is less secure to him if he votes the Democratic ticket than if he votes the Whig ticket? Is there an agent in a factory who does not know the same thing? Is there a porter or stevedore on a wharf who does not feel his certainty of future employment sensibly diminished if he is known, nay, if he is even suspected, to be a Democrat? Is there a storekeeper there, not a Whig, who does not know that those who would be his best customers pass by his door because he does not happen to be of the same politics, and that the customers whom he gets in their place do not expend with him such large sums of money? Is there a physician or a professional man of any kind who does not know that he makes heavy sacrifices if he adopts and professes the so-called heresies that have been so unpopular formerly with the powerful in Massachusetts? Is there a lawyer of any talent, who is a Democrat, who does not know that he could quadruple his practice by simply professing to be a Whig? Clergymen, physicians, laborers, tradesmen—all classes of men make sacrifices by belonging to the Democratic party. No mortal man in Massachusetts ever made sacrifices by joining the Whig party, but tens of thousands of Democrats have sacrificed a large proportion of their means of support by standing up to what they believed to be sound, and true, and right. That is the position of the Democratic party of Massachusetts, and that has been its history from its commencement down to the present time. Against this party particularly is the charge of corruption aimed; and what is the ground of that charge? It is brought down to the alleged fact of a coalition.

Before going into the character of the alleged coalition, let me ask, are coalitions in themselves wrong? Is it wrong that those who seek a common object should co-operate to effect that object? Am I to stop to inquire whether my neighbor thinks as I do upon all questions—all important questions, if you please—before I act with him upon any one important question? If the Capitol is on fire, and the engines in the Rotundo, and not men enough to man the brakes, must I refuse to fall in and help to work for the salvation of the common interest, and to extinguish the conflagration, because there happens to be a man at work there, for the same object, who entertains different sentiments from me, on religion, for instance, the most important concern of man—he being a Catholic, and I a Protestant? Every man will say at once, that the man would be an idiot who would suffer his energies to be paralyzed by scruples against the coalition in such a case, though it might be a coalition with atheists and drunkards, polygamists and monarchists. I hold that, as a general thing, for those to act together who desire a great public object, impossible to be accomplished without their union, shows that they are men of sense, and understand how to effect their object. What do all these men who cry out against the alleged coalition in Massachusetts do in respect of coalition among themselves? Do they isolate themselves? Does each man stand apart from his neighbors with whom he differs on any important question? If they did, there would be no parties in this country, from one end of it to the other, and no Government; for without combinations of men differing widely from each other, constitutions could never be adopted, nor Governments carried on, nor even established, and freedom would expire in universal anarchy.

But to come now to the precise question raised by the charge of my colleague against Massachusetts, is a coalition between men who do not oppose the Compromise Measures, and the Fugitive Slave Law particularly, with men who do oppose them, an unholy coalition?

If it be, where and since when was that discovery made? Was it by the Whig party in the State of Missouri? Has the State of Missouri been denounced again and again upon this floor, by Whig gentlemen, because the gentleman [Mr. Geyer] who holds his seat in the other branch of this Congress, was elected by a coalition, as I understand it, of those who favored and those who were opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Compromise Measures, in the State of Missouri? Is it in the State of Wisconsin, where the gentleman nominated by a Free Soil Convention, and known to concur in their views, was elected, and the Whig papers, from one end of the country to the other, set up a shout of triumph at the Whig victory in the State of Wisconsin? The Free Soil candidate of the Free Soil party was elected, and hence it was, as one would suppose, a Free Soil victory. But is a Whig victory a Free Soil victory? Are they one and the same thing? The gentleman says they are not the same, but very different things; but yet there is no outcry of indignation against Missouri, or against Wisconsin, for these enormities, but much applause, because a coalition has given to Whigs a share in the distribution of office and power. There is little to be urged against Ohio, or New York, or Georgia, but a great deal against Massachusetts. And why? I do not know, unless it is because her own sons contribute to heap imputations of dishonor on Massachusetts, on this floor, because the stab from the parricidal hand rankles most sorely, and stimulates the malignancy of strangers to follow up the blow and add fresh venom to the wound. I do not know why else she is made to bear the sins of all the other States—why else she is to be the "scape-goat" for all the other coalitions in the United States.

Are we not in Massachusetts at liberty to judge of our own political position, and political course, as well as gentlemen in Missouri, or Wisconsin, or Ohio, or in New York, or anywhere else in the United States—in Mississippi, or Georgia, or any other State? Is it so clear that in any section of the country—East, West, North, South, or central—is it, I say, so clear that gentlemen, who call themselves by the same party name, agree upon these very questions? Is it so clear that, in South Carolina, or Alabama, or Mississippi, the Democrats all agree about this Fugitive Slave Bill? Do not some of them say that it is constitutional, and others that it is unconstitutional? Do not some propose one course of action, and others precisely the opposite course of action, with regard to it? Yet day after day, with an insolence countenanced by her own sons, Massachusetts is denounced upon this floor, and no other State but Massachusetts—a State having a right equal to that of any other sovereign State in this Confederacy, to determine what she considers right and proper, and what course she deems best to pursue in her own domestic affairs, and for her own good government. Why, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Stanly] thinks he would not go to heaven with Democrats like those of Massachusetts—he could not bear to tread the same path. Sir, he has not trod our path heretofore, and we therefore had no reason to expect his company in the straight and thorny way at this time; but because he refuses to join us, we shall not the less firmly press on, and not the less safely arrive at our journey's end.

Massachusetts, I say, has the same right to manage her own political affairs, in her own way, with that of any other State in this Union. And she has not only the same right, but she has the same ability, energy, and determination to maintain that right, with any other State; and she will maintain it, at home and abroad.

But I am not going to take my stand behind the dignity of the State of Massachusetts, and say that she does what she pleases, and she will not give an account of what she does. I stand ready here to-day—what I have never done before in public, and what I would not do now, if I did not feel particularly clear and particularly free from doubt that I am doing right in what I am doing—to endorse the coalition in Massachusetts. I believe I understand what it was, and what it did, though I was not present at the time it was entered into. I was in the State of Illinois. But after my return I heard what had been done, and I am now in the condition of an impartial looker-on: and being thus free to take my own course, I can say, and do say, that I think it was eminently wise and patriotic in the majority of the people of that State to take the Government of the State out of the hands of the minority, however unpleasant to the minority that proceeding might be.

Before proceeding to discuss the propriety of that movement, and of the masterly combination by which it was made, let me, however, inquire, for a moment, who it is that makes the charge of corruption against the coalition in Massachusetts? My colleague from the Sixth District [Mr. Davis] undertakes to read lectures to the Democracy and Free Soil party because they act together in Massachusetts. That is all. He has not impeached them *for their acts*, but only for their *concurrence* in those acts. He has not singled out any one act of those parties, except that of acting together. That he considers a violation of political principles. I have a right to presume that all our great measures were right, only that it was wrong for us first to agree to do right, and then to do it. He has not accused us of voting for any law or any resolution, but he has accused us of appointing men to office. He has not accused us of appointing bad men. He has not said that the offices are not better filled now than they were when the Whigs were in power. If he had, I should take issue with him upon that proposition. He has not designated one single act of these parties, but he has designated this coalition itself and *per se* as offensive to his political sensibilities.

And now, what does my friend from the Sixth District mean, by charging upon the Democrats a breach of political honesty in acting with those who agree with them upon certain particular points of action, in electing the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and other officers of State Administration, and in passing certain measures of reform, in which the Democratic party has been engaged for fifteen or twenty years past in Massachusetts, but which they had not accomplished, and could not have accomplished without the aid which he thinks they ought not to have received when it was tendered? Does the gentleman from the Sixth District believe that it is wrong for a Free-Soiler to act with a Whig, or a Whig with a Free-Soiler? To make my question more definite and more pertinent to his own position, does he believe it wrong for AN ABOLITIONIST and a Whig to act together? He must have undergone a transformation of heart and character as sudden, as entire, and as far beyond the reach of natural causes, as that of Saul of Tarsus, and that, too, quite recently, if he does not believe such common action to be honorable and justifiable. Then why does he attack this coalition so furiously? This is a new thing, compared with the old, standing coalition of the State of Massachusetts, in virtue of which the Whig party has retained its power for the last twenty or thirty years, by carrying with it the votes of those whose feelings towards the institution of slavery were not of a very favorable kind. They are the gentlemen, those influenced by their dislike of slavery were the gentlemen, who kept the Whig party in power in Massachusetts, from the time when it came in by the amalgamation or coalition of 1825, till the time when it went out by the coalition of November, 1850, continued in January, 1851. If, then, it be wrong for a party opposed to the Compromise to coalesce with a party in favor of the Compromise, I tell this Committee that such a coalition—such in principle, for this coalition in Massachusetts does not date only from the passage of that law—I say such a coalition has kept the Whig party in the State of Massachusetts in power down to the time when they went out of power. And a pretty prominent actor in that coalition was the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Davis,] who charges the damning sin of coalition upon the Democrats of Massachusetts. Now, I am not in the habit of speaking in relation to matters of this kind without the evidence before me. Therefore, in order to substantiate my charge of this coalition between the Whigs and Abolitionists of Massachusetts, I shall single out the history of the gentleman from the Sixth District in connection with this matter.

In 1835, my colleague [Mr. Davis] was a member of an Anti-Slavery Convention of the county of Franklin, [laughter,] Massachusetts. Gentlemen will see that I have begun far enough back, so that my colleague cannot complain that I have not treated him fairly by not exhibiting his whole course on this subject in its just connection. I will remark that this was not a Free Soil Convention, but an *Abolition* Convention. Some gentlemen may think the distinction rather a nice one; to those concerned, it seems vastly important. This was a meeting of Abolitionists, for the purpose of organizing one of those anti-slavery societies, commonly called Abolition societies. The published account states that Mr. George T. Davis read the call for the Convention, and was elected one of its secretaries. The organization of the society was proceeded with. A constitution was adopted, the second article of which defined the object of the society, which was declared to be "THE ENTIRE REMOVAL OF SLAVERY FROM THE UNITED STATES." [Great laughter.]

[Cries of "Read it!" "Read it!"]

Mr. R. I cannot undertake to read all to which I refer, but the Committee will be satisfied with extracts, for there will be a large number which I shall read.

It was a pretty large undertaking for a young man; but young men are always ambitious and sanguine. But it seems, in 1835 my colleague undertook the entire abolition of slavery in the United States of America. [Renewed laughter.] I confess that it is somewhat more than I should have felt myself called upon to perform in the county of Franklin, in the year 1835. If I had felt a tendency that way, an inward call to that mission, I should have placed the bounds of my ambition within decidedly narrower limits.

The third article of that constitution pledges the members to "labor for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the Union, by all constitutional means." A resolution adopted at that meeting declares that "slaveholding, as it exists in the United States, is SIN, and ought at all times to be regarded and treated as such." And another resolution declares, what my Southern friends will be glad to know upon this high authority, that "immediate emancipation would be without danger to the white population." [Great laughter.] Of the society thus formed, George T. Davis was elected treasurer.

These were the sentiments of my colleague in 1835. In 1838, on Tuesday, October 2d, "a convention of the young men of Massachusetts, who are the friends of immediate and universal emancipation," met at Brinley Hall, Worcester. Perhaps my friend from that district [Mr. Allen] imbibed his principles there, and on that occasion.

Mr. Allen. I beg to say that that meeting goes much further than I ever went, or am prepared to go. [Laughter.]

Mr. Rantoul. Then the gentleman from Worcester, it seems, did not learn his whole lesson, as the teacher [Mr. Davis] was then and there prepared to impart it. The proceedings of that meeting, published officially in the *Boston Liberator*, edited by Mr. Garrison, state that Mr. George T. Davis, of Greenfield, was elected President *pro tempore*.

Then the committee to nominate officers reported——

[Cries of "Read!" "Read!"]

Mr. R., (continuing.) "The committee to nominate officers reported, and the following gentlemen were elected: President, George T. Davis, of Greenfield;" and then follow the names of ten Vice Presidents and three Secretaries. Among the resolutions adopted at the meeting which elected Mr. George T. Davis President of this Abolition Convention, were the following:

"*Resolved*, That the man who sits still in Congress, and permits our rights to be trampled upon and our lives to be threatened by Southern slave-drivers, in silence, does not faithfully represent the freemen of free Massachusetts." [Laughter.]

I rejoice to know this from authority which cannot mislead me, because I am in daily expectation of that burst of eloquence which is to carry out this principle, from the gentleman from the Sixth District. The freemen of free Massachusetts have at last a representative now, who will not represent them in silence. [Laughter.] The next resolution is in these words:

"*Resolved*, That the Senators of this Commonwealth, Daniel Webster and John Davis, did so conduct, when that infamous threat of death to any Abolitionist who should set foot in South Carolina, was uttered on the floor of the United States Senate; that we regard their silence on that occasion with the deepest indignation; and that we wish we could say of both, as we can of one, 'distinguished, but not born in Massachusetts.'" [Laughter.]

My colleague from the Sixth District, in the overflowing of his heart, thanked God that he was not obliged to confess that Daniel Webster was a native of his State. That is the meaning of this resolution. He wished he could say of John Davis, as he had of Webster, "*distinguished*, but NOT BORN in Massachusetts." Here is one count in the bill of indictment against a learned gentleman who occupies a seat in the other Hall of this Capitol—that he stated that Millard Fillmore "had better never have been born, than to have signed the Fugitive Slave Bill." Why should the member from the Sixth District complain of that expression on the part of the gentleman alluded to, when he thinks it a matter of rejoicing that Daniel Webster was not born in Massachusetts? Why, if I wished a man had never been born in Massachusetts, or if I exulted that a man had not been born in Massachusetts, I would go a little further, I think, and wish that he had never been born at all. [Laughter.]

The next resolution is in these words:

"*Resolved*, That the people of the United States, and their representatives in Congress, are morally bound to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and national Territories, and to prohibit the inter-State slave trade."

And another:

"*Resolved*, That all legislative enactments arraying the civil and military power of the nation against the slave, are an outrage on humanity, a violation of morality and religion, and therefore null and void; and that we will never return a fugitive slave into bondage, nor bear arms to keep him from his inalienable rights."

I do not know precisely what that means; but I should suppose it to include the idea that, in case of domestic insurrection in any part of this Union, these gentlemen resolve that they will not take up arms to aid in the suppression of that insurrection. It asserts, also, that laws like the fugitive slave law are null and void by the higher law.

What comes next?

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the people of this State to petition the United States Senate, praying them not to advise and consent to the appointment of any person as a Minister from this country to any foreign Court, who is a slaveholder, because such representatives degrade the American name and character abroad, and make republicanism a hissing and a by-word before the civilized world." [Laughter.]

This is almost a fair offset for the solemn league and covenant of similar proscription against non-sustainers of the compromises. [Laughter.] Well, sir, the other proceedings of that meeting are somewhat interesting, especially the resolution which speaks of "the visit of our *dear friend*, George Thompson, to this country." [Great and continued laughter.] And the resolution which assures him he shall "receive the support and countenance of the whole body of the young men of this Commonwealth"—I trust my friend has not escaped from that category, and is still one of the young men of the Commonwealth, young enough to countenance our dear friend, George Thompson—"shall receive the support and countenance of the whole body of the young men of this Commonwealth, now represented in this Convention." The Secretary was instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to Mr. Thompson. William Lloyd Garrison seems to have taken a part with Mr. George T. Davis in this Convention. In the next year of this strange, eventful history—for I must follow it step by step—in 1839, October 23d, a meeting was held of the Franklin County Anti-Slavery Society; Elijah Alvord was chosen President, and George T. Davis one of the Vice Presidents; and in the afternoon, the President being absent, this George T. Davis presided. He was also a member of the business committee, and one of the resolutions adopted and reported by that committee was as follows. It goes rather strong, as gentlemen will observe:

"*Resolved*, That Abolitionists ought to withdraw all Christian fellowship with slaveholders." [Laughter.]

That is a denunciation of coalitions. Still it is a denunciation confined to matters ecclesiastical. The gentleman's practice shows that he had not then arrived at that sublime height of wisdom whence one may look down with contempt on political coalitions; for down to yesterday he was, though a zealous, thorough-going, consistent Abolitionist, engaged in a very close and confidential coalition with politicians who hold in common with him no one of the sentiments quoted from his various resolutions, as I will by and by show, if, indeed, it is worth the while to follow the matter so far.

It was also, on motion of Mr. Boies,

"*Resolved*, That we will vote for no man for Congress, who is not in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, of the internal slave trade, and opposed to the admission of any new slave State."

In the year 1840, my colleague from the Sixth District was a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and he was chairman of the special committee of the Senate of Massachusetts which reported those famous resolves, circulated over all the country, and so often quoted as showing the opinions of the Whigs of Massachusetts upon the subject of slavery. My colleague, as chairman of that committee, made an able report, introducing the resolutions which were then adopted.

The resolutions were as follows:

"Whereas domestic slavery exists in the District of Columbia, under the express authority of Congress, &c.

"*Resolved*, That Congress ought to exercise its acknowledged power, in the immediate suppression of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

"And whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the several States of the Union, in the exercise of which power Congress in the year 1808 abolished the foreign slave trade; and whereas a domestic slave trade, as unjustifiable in principle as the African slave trade, and scarcely less cruel and inhuman in practice, is now carried on between the several States: therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the domestic slave trade ought to be abolished by Congress, without delay.

"*Resolved*, That no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, whose Constitution shall tolerate domestic slavery.

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their utmost efforts to give effect to the foregoing resolves."

And the Governor was directed to send the resolutions to Senators, &c.

The report with which the resolutions were introduced was signed by Mr. Davis, and I therefore conclude was written by him; for I take it he is not in the habit of signing reports which he does not write.

In that same year, 1840, a bill was introduced into the Senate of Massachusetts, making a change in what is sometimes called the black code, the legislation regulating the rights of negroes. That change was a repeal of the pre-existing law, which forbade the intermarriage of whites with mulattoes and negroes. And that reform was brought about by the instrumentality of my colleague from the Sixth District, [laughter,] as he was chairman of the committee that reported the bill providing for the change. That bill became a law; and I think I do no more than justice to the eloquence and talents of my learned and able colleague, when I say that, in all human probability, the young white men of Massachusetts would have been denied the privileges of connecting themselves with mulattoes and blacks, (in that interesting relation which the gentleman from the Sixth District has opened to them,) down to this day, if it had not been for the disinterested exertions of my colleague from the Sixth District. [Great laughter.]

On the 9th day of October, 1838, a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Franklin county was held, and George T. Davis was re-elected Treasurer of that Society. If there was corruption at that time, the fund was in his keeping, and he may therefore have had better opportunities of understanding this question of corruption than most of his colleagues, who have not had the fortune to be treasurers of abolition societies. Mr. George T. Davis was re-elected Treasurer of the Anti-Slavery Society of Franklin county; and among the resolutions passed, are some which contain some rather severe remarks upon the Hon. Daniel Webster, whose position then was not so far from that of this Treasurer of the Abolitionists as it has been since—as it is now, when the Treasurer thinks proper to form a coalition with him.

Now, down to 1840, I have traced this history. Down to 1850, has no change come over the spirit of the dream of my colleague from the Sixth District? No, sir. Judging from all public manifestations, I was led to suppose that the sentiments of my colleague from the Sixth District remained, down to yesterday, just the same as represented in the series of resolutions I have just read. If there be any public addresses, in any public meeting in Massachusetts, avowing a change of sentiment, I have not seen it, or read it, or heard of it. If there is any communication in any newspaper, magazine, or elsewhere; if there be any communication to the people of Massachusetts, who elected the honorable member, informing them that he did not entertain, when he was last elected, the same sentiments entertained previously by him—from 1835 down—I have never heard a rumor of them. There may be such; this part of the State is somewhat distant from my home, and I do not pretend to read all that comes out in the newspapers. I say I never heard a rumor or saw an indication of any change of sentiment on this class of subjects, upon the part of my colleague.

But the Convention that nominated my colleague for election to this place ought certainly to know the truth in reference to the opinions of their candidate. They voted for him upon the supposition that his opinions coincided with their own, and they especially knew that they were voting for a gentleman so high-minded and chivalrous that he abhors all coalitions. Of course he would not receive the votes of those who differed from him. He would spurn them with a pure indignation. It must, then, be taken for granted that his party coincides with him in his sentiments. The inference is stronger in his case than in that of any other man; and if I find out what were the sentiments of the party who sent him to Congress at the time when they sent him, I shall find what his views were presumed to be at the time he was sent here, and that, too, by a presumption which he at least is estopped from denying.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The Chairman. The hour which the House has resolved to close debate in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the bill has arrived.

Cries, addressed to Mr. Rantoul, of "Go on!" "Go on!"

The Chairman. The Committee even by unanimous consent cannot, in the opinion of the Chair, disregard the order of the House.

Mr. Rantoul. Cannot I proceed if there is no objection?

The Chairman. In the opinion of the Chair you cannot, even by unanimous consent, proceed.

Mr. Orr. Unanimous consent is given; and do I understand the Chair to decide that the gentleman cannot proceed?

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas. This matter may be quickly settled—I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. Richardson. No! no! I should very much like to hear the gentleman through, but we must stand up to our rules.

Mr. Johnson. I will ask the Chair if, by unanimous consent, Governor McDowell was not on a former session allowed to proceed after the time had expired for closing debate? and if it was not done in several other cases?

The Chairman. Never when I was present. My recollection is, in the case of Governor McDowell, that upon two occasions the House refused to do it.

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